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Rolling Stones — The Goodbye Look; Unlearning Death Science

Ramparts®

JUL 24 1972
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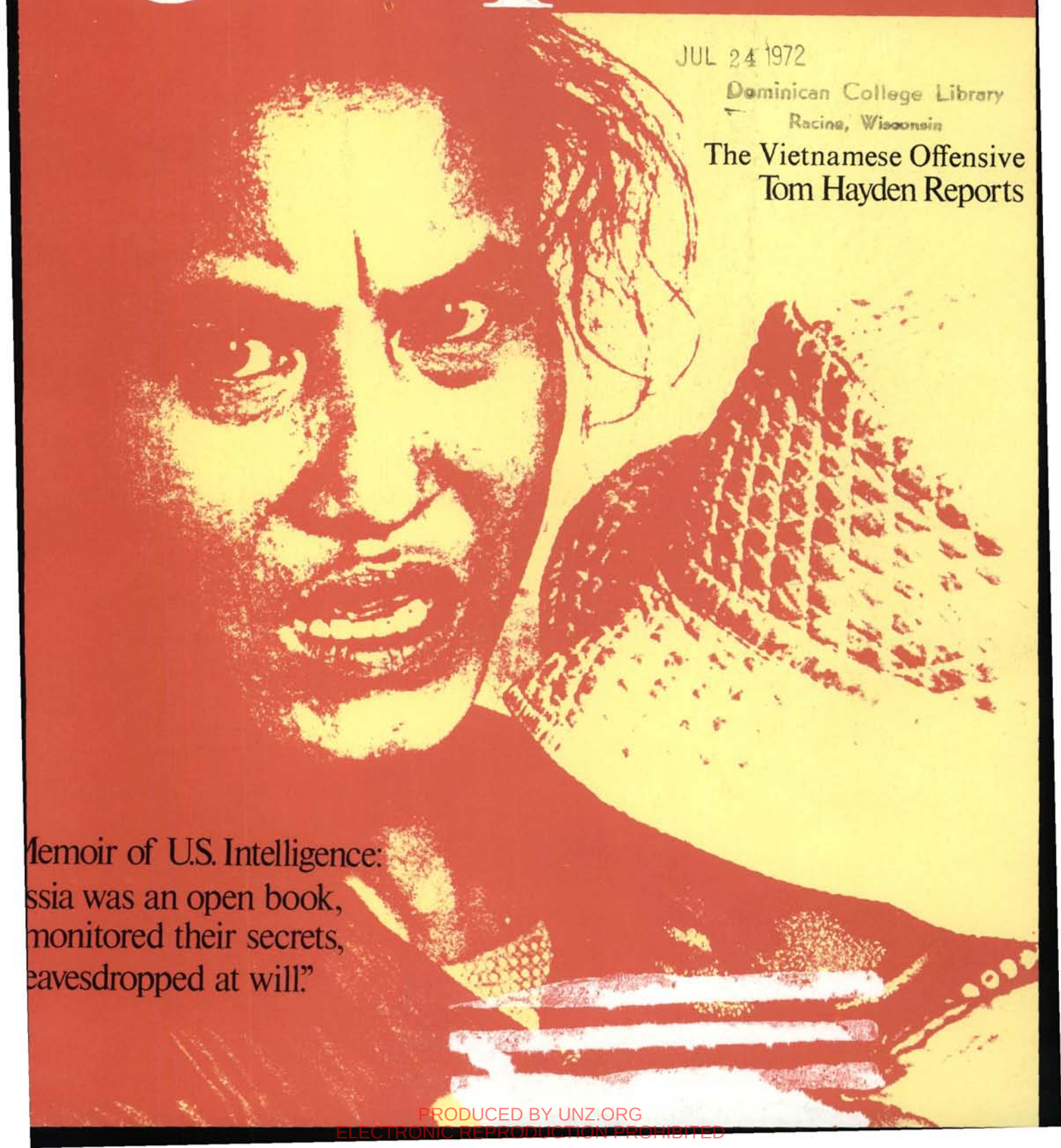
The Vietnamese Offensive
Tom Hayden Reports



lemoir of U.S. Intelligence:
ssia was an open book,
monitored their secrets,
eavesdropped at will."

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Ramparts

To our newstand readers: We thought you might want to see this letter which we recently sent to Ramparts subscribers.

Dear Subscriber

Each Spring we write to you, telling of news around Ramparts, and commenting on the ways and woes of magazine journalism. We find the world of magazine publishing more depressing by the year. One after another the old established journals are chewed up in the cash nexus—the reprehensible, the venerable, the camp—some it swallows, others it spits out, unwillingly transformed.

The mighty have fallen: Saturday Evening Post, Colliers, and Look all gone from print. Life is losing money, Harpers, also in the red, is shot out from under Editor Willie Morris. And now the Saturday Review, a magazine built singlehandedly, soime say, by Norman Cousins who gave most of a lifetime to the task, is sold off to the merchandising heavies.

Magazine journalism at its best claims a proud history. It has given us the legends of the Muckrakers; the defense of individuals against institutionalized power, the forums of dissent; and the patronage of significant writers, the new, the coming and the arrived. So when we look around at the carcasses, the wreckage and the tombs, we wonder if the country isn't a little the less for the loss of what, one likes to think, was once a vigorous and self-respecting industry. How to account for this degeneration?

The easy explanation is that people have simply deserted print media for television. But the startling fact is that despite TV, the aggregate circulation of magazines keeps rising. Which is only to say that people do still read magazines, and that we must search elsewhere for an explanation.

[Leaning on the Ever-Shriveling Arm]

Many people found the death of a magazine like Look, with its several million loyal readers, paradoxical and surprising. But to those who see publishing as a business proposition the event appeared quite natural, even predictable. Business Week certainly was never taken in by the quaint notion that a magazine can be published just because people want to read it. Two years ago in an impressively prophetic analysis, BW sketched clearly the shape of things to come in publishing: "The day of the 'mass' magazine, or at the least the mass magazine as we have known it, has passed."

The "mass" magazine was not defined by a large circulation, but by its appeal to a general rather than a specialized audience. (Thus the highly profitable TV Guide was not considered "mass" although it had the second largest circulation of them all.) Television had hurt these general magazines, not by depriving them of readers, rather by taking away the advertisers: "Advertisers who want a mass, 'shotgun' audience turn to television. Those who want a far more selective 'rifle-shot' audience—prospects of known background, interests and income—turn to special audience magazines. Many mass magazines are caught in between."

American publishers have grown accustomed to leaning heavily on the subsidy that advertising represents, to the extent that advertisers provide about two out of every three dollars their magazines ring up. So when the advertisers went out, financial troubles set in quickly. Now this really should be viewed as something of an economic oddity. What other industry could survive if, like journalism, it gave its product away for less than it costs to produce it? As magazine readers (and TV viewers) we seldom give much thought to this subsidy arrangement whose benefits we enjoy. But it is important to realize that if publishers, in BW's words, "are all but giving their magazines away," it is because to them your purchase of a magazine is a double edged transaction. They are not only selling their commodity to you, you in turn become a commodity for them to sell—to the advertiser.

The saleability of the readers becomes paramount. Here for example is the research director of Seventeen hawking his wares: "Though teenage girls make up only 12% of the total female population, they account for 22% of all female apparel purchases and over 20% of all female cosmetic and toiletry purchases." And, claiming that the "peak" marrying age for women is 18, he adds: "There will be millions of readers constantly shopping our pages for new wardrobes, engagement rings, home furnishings."

General magazines also try to provide advertisers with this kind of specialized audience. But despite special editions (Time provides student, doctor and educator editions) the general magazine has not been able to offer advertisers anything to equal the specialized audience drawn to a specialty magazine by its focus on particular interests that the readership shares. The multitudinous car, stereo, and camera magazines are merly the most obvious examples of this successful formula.

This preference of advertisers for specialty magazines leads directly to editorial design decisions—teenage brides are presumed more interested in Jackie & Ari than in Jean Paul and Simone. For the advertiser, the key to a lucrative audience is a magazine which has just the right journalistic focus.

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The dilemma in the publishing business comes to this: at a time when advertisers are buying selectivity, the remaining general interest magazines find they are stuck with White Elephant readerships, undifferentiated millions of lumpen consumers. What to do? In a recent interview in the Washington Post the people from Time Inc. admitted that they can't make it on advertising any longer.

Consultants reportedly advised publishers to raise their subscription rates, bite the bullet, chop the overhead and live off the customers instead of the advertiser. But can it be done? Will readers pay the real cost of what they used to get virtually for free? Ramparts' own situation, albeit a rather different one, may be instructive.

[The Very Model of a Modern Minor Magazine?]

Unlike our publishing brethren, Ramparts takes in little advertising revenue (15% of our income compared to their 65%), and on the expense side, we have pitifully little overhead. The budget that a few years ago was cushioned and encumbered with layers of fat, has been sweated to the bone. Ramparts is now owned by its staff. And last year, the magazine just about broke even.

Modesty forbids that we suggest that we know something the others don't; "long-ailing Ramparts," as BW called us, has not yet become the picture of financial health. On the other hand, even Life with its $200 million a year income might have collapsed already, without the shoring up that Time Inc. can provide from its vast treasury. Ramparts stakes its survival on reader support and it may be that other magazines will be forced to follow suit. Can we imagine that our solution can be theirs? Poverty-line salaries, collective work ethics, no retinues of assistants, secretaries, and other emblems of prestige? Be that as it may, whether or not Life survives, publishing will be a better place to the extent that dependence on advertising actually declines. The publisher will have to rely primarily on the reader's dollar, and that dependency seems well placed. What remains will be a healthier relationship between publisher and subscriber. Even though it means, accordling to the Washington Post interview, higher prices to subscribers and newsstand buyers.

In themselves, high magazine prices are not particularly edifying. But clearly, independence is imperiled when advertisers pay the costs of what we read, when publishers sell their journalism cheap, as if it were merely a "loss leader" calculated to lure you into the magazine's pages and expose you to the advertising. If we look seriously at the condition of the press in America, we have to say that a journalism of news and opinion so heavily mortgaged to the caprice of advertising subsidy, is not a bargain at any price.

How does Ramparts fit into all this? There is no denying that the money Ramparts does get from advertising comes in handy. But we feel that the overwhelming primacy of reader support is an indication that our priorities are in order, and is an incentive to keep them that way. The advertising is there to help bring the magazine to the readers, the readers are not there to help bring advertising to the magazine.

Ramparts is a publishing anomaly. It is not in business but it is not out of business either. It will never make a profit—that has never been in the aim—but it has proved its financial viability, and it has the capacity to endure. In a way Ramparts was an accidental institution, produced by a fortuitous conjunction of money and people, politics and newsbreaks, a vital coincidence unlikely to be repeated. Ramparts grew up with the movement of the sixties and now it stands as one of the few remaining institutions to make it into the seventies intact.

Ramparts is obviously not a special interest magazine in the Business Week sense. But in the context of reader-support, Ramparts does represent special-interest journalism of another kind. And in that sense Ramparts' survival emerges as an important test of strength. It tests how strong the special interest is in truths, truths that other magazines have been unwilling to discover or to tell; how strong is the special interest in sustaining a journalistic voice outside the mainstream and against the status quo; and how enduring is the special interest in developing an alternative explanation of the American crisis and an alternative of the American future.

/s/ David Kolodney, for the Editors

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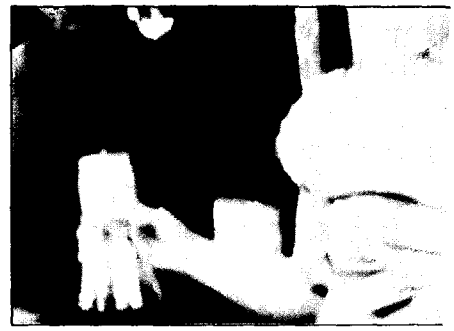

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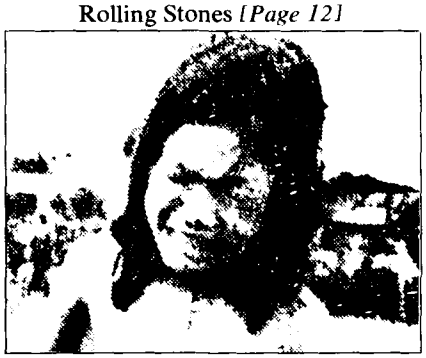

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Ramparts®

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Cover by "Rising Cry for Justice," an exhibit portraying the war in Indochina

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so·ci·e·ty (sə-sī′ə-te) n., pl. -ties. a. A group, or groups, of human beings sharing mutual interests and institutions, participating in a common culture distinguished by certain characteristics from other cultures. b. The sum total of social relationships among human beings.

How do you fit in?

How would you feel about visiting your daughter and the young man she's "living with"? About improving your environment by living more "naturally"—with fewer mechanical contrivances? If the pilot were a woman and the stewardess a man—would you take the train? It may happen sooner than you think.

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- How are society's more liberal views on cohabitation affecting laws applying to marriage, divorce, custody, legitimacy, tax status, etc.?
- In what ways are today's women college graduates different from those who graduated 5-10 years ago—and how will these differences affect business, the arts, the family in America?
- Blue Cross and red tape—how to avoid the bureaucratic tangles and get the benefits that are coming to you.
- Can stockholders with a social conscience really influence the policy of huge corporations towards the environment, war, civil rights and other social problems? Should they?
- Will genetic engineering lead to the "perfect" human being—or a society of laboratory freaks?
- What is it like to be old in America—and what can you do *before* it happens to you?
- Is it "immoral" to test new drugs on prisoners, retarded children, and charity ward patients?

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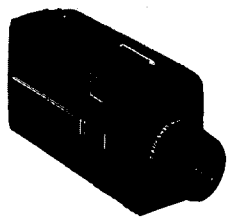
[Hard Times]

Classroom Surveillance by Kodak

(12 years ahead of its time)



BARTOW, FLORIDA. Just a few miles from the spires of Disney World's Tomorrowland is an Orwellian future that didn't wait until 1984. In Polk County, Florida, a flat, sleepy stretch of land, world renowned for frozen orange juice, the school board has begun installing a series of special cameras which will monitor junior and senior high school students during class, in the halls and while eating lunch.

The School Board of Polk County, plagued with the typical problems of drug dealing, student unrest and vandalism, became the first system in the nation to install Kodak Analyst super 8 security cameras. The police, banks and retail shops have been using similar cameras for over a year.

W. W. Reed, superintendent of the Polk County School Board, said that the surveillance equipment, although in use only a short time, has had a psychological impact on the 10 senior and 16 junior high schools where they are in use. "They have had a definite effect on the total tenor at the schools," said Reed.

The cameras, "the latest super 8 advance" according to a Kodak company release, cost around $240 apiece and are set to snap a picture every 30 seconds. Because they are encased in a sound-absorbent box, students never know when a picture is being taken. The time-lapse camera can operate for days without changing film.

Polk County officials have set up the Analyst super 8s in corridors, around the school grounds, problem classrooms and cafeterias. The cameras are fitted into specially constructed wall brackets and come equipped with a variety of lenses depending on the angle and depth of the subjects being photographed. Principals have also been supplied with hand-held models to cover incidents in areas not monitored by the wall-mounted Analysts. Reed takes great pains to emphasize that the school board has no intention of snooping on the students. "We're neither interested, nor do we have the time to 'spy' on our students when they are conducting themselves in manners normal for their age level," he said.

"We process and look at film only when incidents have occurred that require establishing responsibility for them," Reed continued. "It is a completely innocent way of taking remedial action."

But students at Polk County Schools and the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida disagree with the superintendent as to the innocence of the Analyst super 8s. "We are inhibited from being ourselves," said a senior student body president from one school where the cameras have been used. "It doesn't say much for our teachers when they need spy cameras to keep control," he added.

Florence Wills, spokeswoman for the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida, said that the Polk County School Board's installation of the cameras constituted "a definite invasion of privacy." The ACLU, said Mrs. Wills, is "actively searching for a plaintiff in a right-to-privacy case in Polk County involving the School Board."

"We feel the Polk County School Board has attempted to rewrite the Constitution of the United States," she continued. "We feel this type of surveillance should be stopped before it spreads to other school boards around the country. We already have information that the Palm Beach County [Florida] Board is about to install a similar system by Kodak."

In the meantime, the giant Rochester photographic firm is mounting a major effort to put its Analyst super 8 cameras in every school, retail store, government office and warehouse in the country. "The present crime emergency may be more important than almost any other environmental problem," states the narrator of Kodak's sales presentation for their security cameras.

Kodak proudly trumpets Spokane, Washington's Sheriff William J. Reilly's claim that one Analyst time-lapse camera smashed a drug ring working a local high school.

"We got a call from a lady reporting that a pusher was habitually working at a street corner near the high school," Sheriff Reilly said. The sheriff set up an Analyst camera in a parked vehicle at the corner with the lens poking through the curtain. "The suspect didn't show up," the sheriff said, "but one day he will and we will have him."

Testimonies such as Sheriff Reilly's, Kodak says, has school boards seeing the Analyst camera as a panacea for every type of discipline problem and a protector of individual rights, not a violator of them.

"The students have been told the cameras are there and that it is possible for us to positively identify not only those responsible for trouble, but also those who are innocent of wrongdoing," said Superintendent Reed. "Thus, the innocent are protected."

Yet pupils have complained just the opposite is the case. "In any type of trouble, everybody that the camera photographs," said one senior high student, "is sent to the office. After all, they can't tell who caused the trouble because they don't have sound cameras. They don't know who said what to whom and, anyway, the instigation of trouble might just happen to fall during the 30 seconds the camera isn't photographing."

And students loudly proclaim that school rules are as widely ignored as they were before the installation of the cameras. Illicit activity has just moved out of the range of the super 8 lens, they say.

What little drug dealing went on before the introduction of the Analyst in this small Central Florida county still goes on, mostly in the bathrooms "because they haven't set up cameras *there* yet." Contact between opposite sexes (which can even include holding hands) is a strict violation of school rules and harder to arrange. Underground newspapers, such as *Rolling Stone*, are taboo and easily spotted by the cameras. "Nothing has changed but the amount of subterfuge and fear," said a student. "It's like being in jail for six hours a day." ■

by Buddy Nevins

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damned dams stand

IN FEBRUARY, 126 PERSONS were killed at Buffalo Creek, West Virginia, when a dam built by the Pittston coal company collapsed and flooded the mining community. It subsequently developed that not only had officials known this dam was unsafe but there were others like it throughout the state. One expert member of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers bluntly told a Senate investigating committee the dam should never have been built.

The question was why did the federal and state mining officials who knew about the dam dangers stand by and let the tragedy take place. The Senate asked Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, who oversees the Bureau of Mines, to testify about Buffalo Creek, but he refused to do so. His brother Thruston is a director of Pittston, and the Republicans apparently feared the publicity of conflict of interest charges. However, Bureau of Mines officials did appear, and they brought with them a California dam expert named William A. Wahler. Wahler proceeded to attack the Army Corps of Engineers expert for advocating too stringent standards. If the standards he proposed were adopted, said Wahler, "we'd have economic ruination of an entire industry." Later he explained his views to the muckraking anti-industry paper *Coal Patrol:* "You can reduce risks but you must bear in mind the costs," he declared. "You must determine what loss of life is an acceptable risk."

plastic for breakfast

AMONG ITS LESSER KNOWN contributions to American life is ITT's invention of a breakfast cake for children called Astrofood. Robert Cotten, vice president for research at ITT's subsidiary Continental Baking, shrewdly and successfully persuaded the Agriculture Department to change the guidelines governing the school breakfast program so that ITT's new "engineered food" product, Astrofood, would qualify. The idea is to replace orange juice, milk, eggs and bacon with a cheap, easily managed little cake, like a Twinkie. But Astrofood is packed with synthetic vitamins and proteins. In fact, according to enthusiastic food engineers who are pushing this cake, all a kid needs is one Astrofood and a glass of milk and he is better behaved, more alert, and studies much harder.

As a result of the Agriculture Department's new rules permitting "engineered foods" in the government-subsidized school programs, snack makers are racing into the market. ITT sells half a million Astrofood cakes every month to schools in St. Louis, Memphis, Little Rock and Atlanta. Tasty Baking Co., a recent market entry, sells 50,000 cakes a week to Philadelphia school children.

Some schools have rejected the engineered cakes. Nutritionists say they cause cavities and teach youngsters to eat cakes instead of real foods. Others question the safety of large doses of synthetic vitamins, contained in the yummy cream fillings. Because of their doubts New York schools rejected the new cakes.

who pays watt

POOR PEOPLE PAY UP TO three times as much for electricity as does industry. According to a study by the Fairfax County (Virginia) Community Action program, Virginia Electric Power Company's (VEPCO) rate structure requires residential customers, especially low-income families who do not use large amounts of electricity, to subsidize industrial customers. Average VEPCO residential rates per kilowatt hour, $2.02; for industry, 94 cents.

The study says, "Poor people pay more than three times as much for electricity as industry does, and more than twice as much as large residential consumers. This inequity persists despite the fact that the cost of service in low-income areas is generally low, industrial demands for cheap power are the main reason for costly plant expansion, environmental problems and rate increase requests, and demands for expensive undergrounding of lines usually come from high-income residential areas rather than low income neighborhoods.

weatherwar

NEITHER THE SALT agreements nor a Congressional drive to slow defense spending will stop the Pentagon from developing an entirely new arsenal of inexpensive environmental weapons. Called geophysical warfare, this weapons system includes a variety of schemes for modifying weather, making rain or creating drought, causing tidal waves, triggering earthquakes and other sorts of inexpensive ways for dealing environmental destruction to the enemy.

So far, work is in an early developmental stage. Projects are all top secret, and go under code names including "Pop Eye," "Nile Blue" and "Intermediate Compatriot." While the Defense Department refuses to talk about geophysical warfare, Laird has denied making rain over North Vietnam at Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings. (The U.S. reportedly had been trying to rain out the Ho Chi Minh Trail and as a result caused unusually heavy rains in North Vietnam.) But Laird carefully avoided mention of weather operations in either Laos or Cambodia, where most of the work is believed to be carried on.

The Gravel edition of the Pentagon Papers refers to a 1967 Operation "Pop Eye" which aims to "reduce trafficability" along "infiltration routes" in Laos. The current weather modification project is called Nile Blue, and is budgeted for $3 million during this fiscal year. Asked to explain Nile Blue at a Senate Appropriations Committee hearing, Stephen J. Lukasik, director of the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency, said, "since it now appears likely that major world powers have the ability to create modifications of climate that might be seriously detrimental to the security of this country, Nile Blue subproject was established in FY 70 to achieve a U.S. capability."

Tidal waves and earthquakes are other possible environmental weapons. Gordon F. MacDonald, former vice president of the Institute for Defense Analyses, a Pentagon think-tank, and now a member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, warned against use of environmental weapons in a book called "Unless Peace Comes." Presumably MacDonald knows what he's talking about. Here's what he has to say about tidal waves: "If, along a 1000 km edge of a continental shelf, a block 100 meters

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deep and 10 km wide were dropped a distance of 100 meters, about 100 megatons of energy would be released. This release would be catastrophic to any coastal nation. How could it be achieved? A series of phased explosions, perhaps setting off natural earthquakes, would be a most effective way. I could even speculate on planning a guided tidal wave, where guidance is achieved by correctly shaping the source which releases the energy."

uh, kimosabe

THE AMERICAN INDIAN Movement has called on radio station KQRS in Minneapolis to ambush the Lone Ranger and his sidekick Tonto and hustle them off the air. Clyde Bellecourt, executive director of the local AIM chapter, describes Tonto as a "negative stereotype" of the American Indian. "After 30 years of riding with a white man," he says, "an Indian should be able to do more than speak in one-syllable words."

KQRS has agreed to air a statement by Bellecourt and will leave the final decision up to its listeners.

catch as catch can

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT of Justice has confirmed that it makes a practice of asking major American corporations to hire former Justice Department informers and spies so that they can be moved to "out-of-the-way and inconspicuous places" after completing their undercover work.

Zodiac News Service quotes a Department spokesman as saying that "at least a dozen, but fewer than 100 informers" had been hired "as a public service" by numerous corporations after the informers had completed their assigned tasks.

The practice became known in May during a Canadian television interview with Pershing Gervais, the FBI informer hired last year to "entrap" New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison. After testifying about alleged payoffs to Garrison in a gambling swindle, Gervais disappeared from New Orleans, and Garrison was indicted.

It turns out that Gervais has been employed for the past three months by the General Motors Company in Vancouver, British Columbia, at an annual salary of $18,000. General Motors reports that it hired Gervais "at the request of the Justice Department" after the Department informed GM that it wanted to place the informer at "an out-of-the-way location."

The Justice Department acknowledged that the practice of asking corporations to hire ex-informers "was very common and very successful." Said the spokesman: "We've seen to it that quite a few informers have been hired, although we can't give a specific figure."

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL Association, in a related item, reports that it commonly cooperates with the FBI in attempts to track down fugitives. Dr. Hugh Hussey, chief of the AMA's Division of Scientific Publications, says that two recent AMA *Journals* issued a warning bulletin to doctors, asking them to watch out for Weatherwoman Roberta Smith. Ms. Smith is wanted by the FBI on charges relating to the smuggling of dynamite across state lines. The Bureau reports that she suffers from a "severe acne problem" and has appealed to the AMA to alert doctors who might be called upon to treat her. (Zodiac)

safer thoughts

A THOUGHT FROM CBS Newsman Morley Safer (from a talk at the Overseas Press Club): "This administration has carefully planted doubt in this country about what we [the press] print or show or say. It has not been a casual, accidental thing . . . People who practice the big lie cannot stand the smallest truth . . . The truth? Agnew and Richard Kleindienst and Melvin Laird have done for the truth what the Boston Strangler did for the door-to-door salesman."

don't read this

THE CHANCES ARE THAT if you are reading this, you are not and could not have become a juror in the Pentagon Papers case. In early June, U.S. Attorney David Nissen filed a brief in the Los Angeles Federal District Court which sought to bar readers of *Ramparts*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, or *Esquire* from the jury which will hear testimony in the case. The brief charged that all these publications had treated the government's position "unfairly" and had glorified the roles of Daniel Ellsberg and Tony Russo, thus causing the government's position to "be loathed."

The brief further sought to exclude any person or the relative of any person who ever belonged to any anti-war organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union. As we go to press, the court has yet to reach a decision on the motion.

dita boom

THE NEW YORK TIMES reports sales of Dita Machines—that is, Dita Beard Machines, a.k.a., paper shredders—are up 25% over last year. Gross sales are approaching $10 million yearly. One manufacturing firm, it is said, has boosted sales through claims that its products can shred up to 2500 pounds of secrets an hour.

bear eats crow

"ONLY YOU," SAYS Smokey the Bear, "can prevent forest fires." But he neglects to add: "If you prevent them too long, you may wind up with a full-fledged holocaust on your hands." According to *Clear Creek*, a San Francisco-based monthly devoted to ecology and the environment, Montana and Idaho are facing a critical situation due to "over-protection" of the forests. Because of their effective fire prevention programs, there has been a dangerous accumulation of organic fuel on the floors of the national forests in these states, which could produce blazes "nearly inconceivable in magnitude." Hence the Forest Service is planning to let some fires in certain forests burn this summer.

sherrill seeks his pass

ROBERT SHERRILL, a Washington-based journalist whose work has appeared in these pages, is taking the White House to court in an attempt to obtain a White House press pass. Sherrill is known for having done stories critical of various occupants of the presidential mansion and, as a result, the Secret Service has long denied him an official press credential

(Continued on Page 62)

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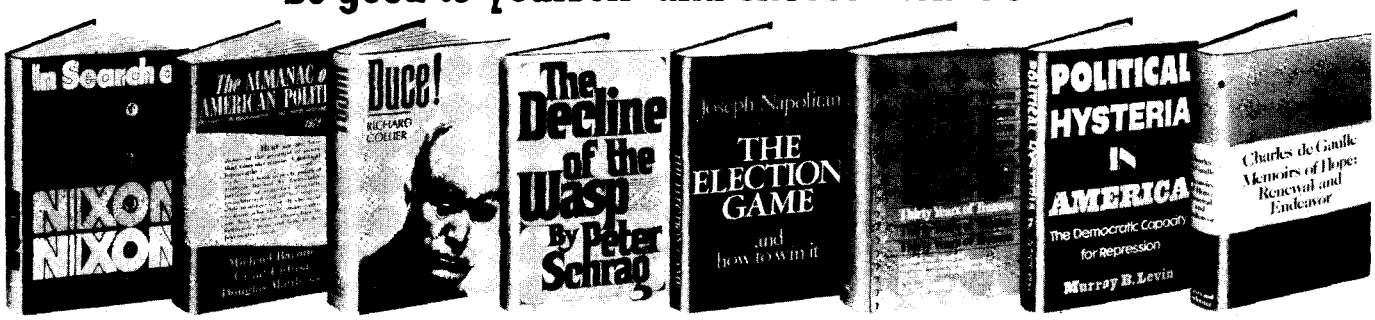

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One of many lovely quotes about Vietnam from the Pentagon Papers *(Mike Gravel edition, Vol. II, p. 529).*

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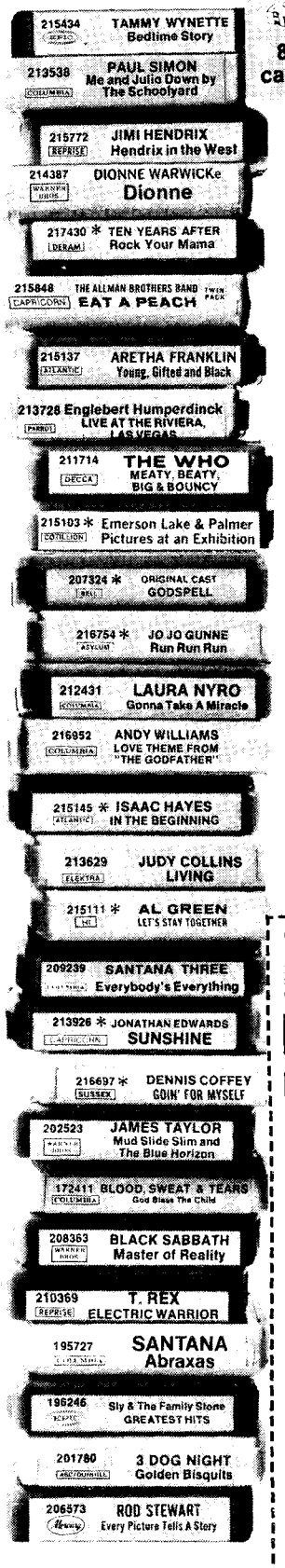
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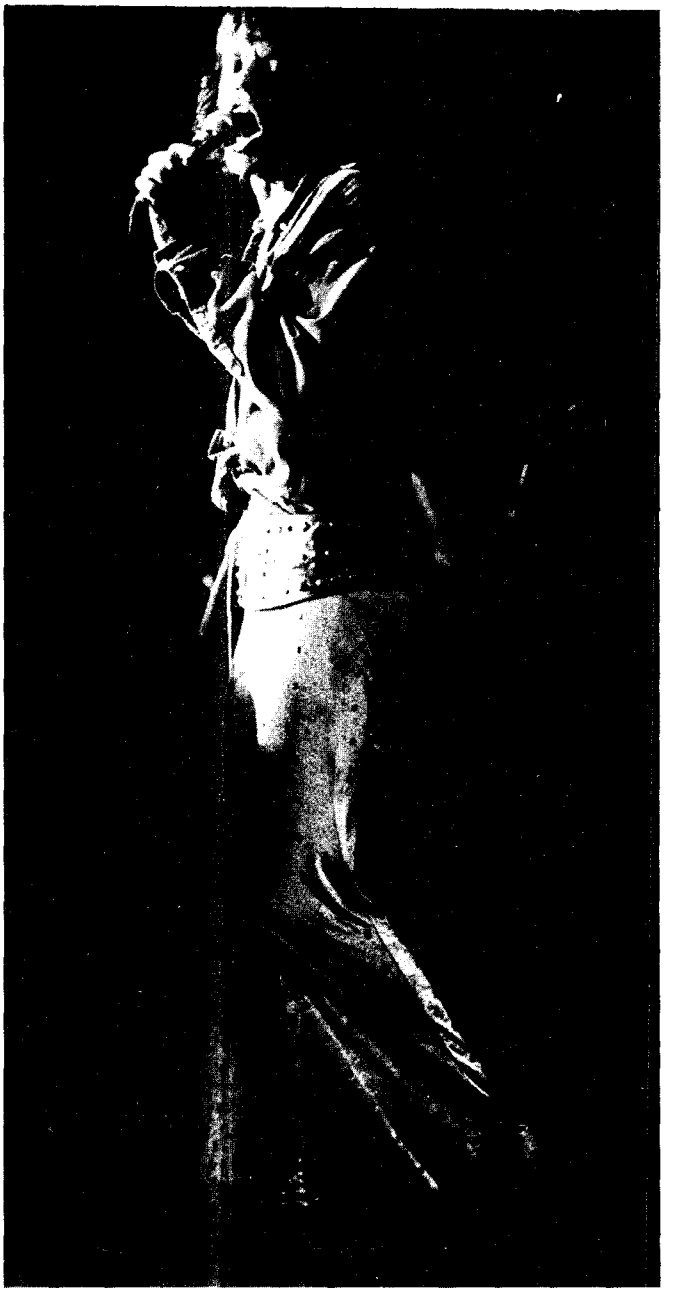

Rolling Stones: Goodbye to all that

DOING MUSIC JOURNALISM offers a number of minor but attractive perquisites, primarily the opportunity to hear a good deal of free music. Show producers, band managers, record promoters—they all try to curry favor with journalists and are generous with backstage passes and direct access to the performers, especially when they have a weak or inexperienced group to build up. But all these courtesies and petty larcenies suddenly disappear when you're dealing with the Rolling Stones. Then you get down in the pit along with everybody else and take your chances. I didn't manage to get to the bloodbath at Altamont a few years ago. Their appearances in San Francisco this June were my first opportunity to see the Stones in person, as a matter of fact. And I realized that by the exigencies of their profession (and mine) it was very likely my last.

As early as February I contacted the San Francisco outlet of Atlantic Records, the distributors of the Stones' own label, concerning their forthcoming tour. Atlantic's promotion man, Ralph Witsel, was friendly but noncommital about access to the Stones —or even tickets to their performances. In April the tour schedule was announced by Gibson & Stromberg, a public relations firm operating out of Los Angeles. I contacted them; they were encouraging but indefinite. The San Francisco shows were to be promoted by Bill Graham; I contacted his office and spoke with someone who was sympathetic but not positive. There would be four performances a matinee and an evening show each day on June 6 and 8. Five thousand tickets would be issued for each show 4500 to go on sale through the computer-controlled Ticketron System on May 15, the remainder held back by

by Dick Lupoff

Photograph by Michael Zagari

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Graham for members of San Francisco bands and other illuminati.

I would have liked to see the Stones at several points in their career—their earliest days together with Alexis Koerner, the first tour that they shared with Bo Diddley, Little Richard and the Everly Brothers. Their first American and European tours, their Pacific tour in '65. And certainly their 1969 tour and the Altamont disaster.

Still, 1972 was a good time to see them; they stood alone at the pinnacle. For years there had been the unavoidable comparison with the Beatles. But that was over now. Long ago they had made all the money they could spend, they had achieved total public acceptance to the point of adulation. The only reason to continue was to play the game, to compete with the Beatles for the sheer excitement of competing.

The Beatles departed; the Stones won the game by default. They were beyond challenge the greatest rock and roll band in the world. This year's tour of the United States and Canada, their first since 1969, was thus like the victorious race car driver who makes an extra circuit of the track after the race carrying the checkered flag: an extra chance to see and be seen in triumph. It also gave the tour something of a nostalgic, even a melancholy note.

I SPOKE WITH MANY FANS BEFORE, during and after the Stones' visit, and a remarkable portion of them made comments to the effect that they wanted to see the Stones as a kind of farewell meeting, a farewell not necessarily to the Stones (although it is widely rumored that this is their last tour) but to the era of which they are possibly a living fossil.

It wasn't exactly the rock and roll era; there was rock and roll back in the 1950s and remarkably similar stuff called rhythm and blues or race music into the '40s or earlier. And there will be rock and roll for a long time to come, much of it good lively fun and some of it serious art.

But this era, this period that seemed to start with the Beatles and the Stones and that seems to be ending if not ended, this era is somehow special.

It lasted nearly a decade, a long time in the volatile world of pop culture, and has been associated with a widespread questioning of official values and impulses leading seriously to a commitment to change, a bitter disillusionment, and a tentative engagement once again. The teenagers of 1963 are now close to thirty, the rock stars who stimulated and motivated them are the same age or older, and the unrestful youngsters of today listen to different music and musicians—who will have their day too.

The fans didn't come out to say farewell to the Rolling Stones, they came out to say farewell to their past, to the excitement and ferment of an epoch. Thus the performance became a sort of maturation ritual, even though for the most part the celebrants may have participated in it without being conscious of its resonance.

NEITHER ATLANTIC, NOR GRAHAM, nor Gibson & Stromberg had made a firm commitment to me by Friday, May 12. So on Sunday the 14th I scouted nearby Ticketron outlets—there would be fifty-odd in service when Stones tickets went on sale the following Monday—and selected a Montgomery Ward store in Oakland as likely to be less swamped with customers than most others. A press pass might yet arrive, but I didn't want to chance missing the show.

At seven the next morning I joined a sparse gathering of early arrivals. A few devoted had arrived the night before with their sleeping bags. At nine-thirty the store opened its doors and there was a rush to form a line at the Ticketron outlet, a window located in one corner of the second floor where an office wall and an internal partition joined.

At ten o'clock the Ticketron terminals in all the outlets went on-line to the central computer in Los Angeles. At one minute after ten the terminals stopped working. What had happened was something that anyone familiar with the design of time-shared computer systems like Ticketron should have anticipated, but that no one apparently did.

At ten o'clock, May 15, 1972, every terminal in the system came on-line with a demand for tickets. In effect, the terminals were standing in line waiting for tickets, the computer taking care of one after another until it came to the end of the line, then going back to the beginning to start over. Twenty seconds per transaction sounds good, but with over fifty terminals standing in the line, it meant a delay of twelve to fifteen minutes at each terminal between any two transactions.

As a result, hundreds of people stood in line for periods up to eight hours, even discounting time put in before the terminals went on-line at ten o'clock. Some 18,000 tickets were sold, with a limit of four per customer, and thousands of would-be customers went home with nothing to show for their wasted day except sore joints and sweat-soaked clothing.

A rough camaraderie developed during the day based on a common desire to get those tickets and a common sense of us-versus-them, *them* being the Ticketron system. Some stores used numbering systems for their waiting customers, but at Ward's where I waited there was no such thing. By mid-afternoon the line of customers, which had started several hundred long and one or two wide, had converted itself into a wedge. The customer actually at the ticket window was the apex. Behind him stood others three abreast; behind them, five or six, and so on to a maximum width of fifteen men and women, all of them straining forward in hopes of reaching the window before the tickets were exhausted. The heat and the sheer pressure of human bodies were unbelievable, growing progressively worse as one approached the window. Once a customer did receive tickets it was necessary to fight backwards through that mass of bodies all pressing forward.

I was lucky. I got my four tickets at about 3:15 in the afternoon. They were all for the first matinee, but there was no choosing, you took what you could get and were grateful to get any tickets at all. Once I'd got them I faced the hardest part of the day's struggle—getting back through the crowd. Anyone who yielded an inch jeopardized his chances of ever getting to the window, so no one gave an inch. When at last I burst through the last rank and into the comparative open air of Ward's fireplace implements department, I found myself brought

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up short within two steps. My shirt was pulled halfway off and the buckle of my belt had got caught somewhere back in the entrails of the mob. Struggling like a hooked tarpon, I took the belt in both hands, and began hauling in. Unbelievably, I reeled a large leather purse out of the human sea. I passed it back into the crowd, restored my clothing and went home.

THREE WEEKS WERE LEFT until the Stones arrived. Immediately, a barter market sprang up with people swapping tickets for one show for some to others of the four scheduled appearances. Simultaneously, a bull market for scalpers developed with buyers and sellers briskly contacting each other chiefly through bulletin board notices posted in record shops and elsewhere. The list price was $5 –Winterland is all unreserved–plus a 50¢ Ticketron service charge; scalping began at $15 and went higher. I know of a set of four tickets that changed hands for $120.

There was also counterfeiting. The Stones' shows were on Tuesday and Thursday, the 6th and 8th of June. On the previous Sunday night, KSAN, the leading underground FM station in San Francisco, scheduled a four-hour Stones Special. Tom Donahue, a long-time powerhouse in the San Francisco rock and roll and underground media scene, was MC. "We were going to have a big on-the-air ticket swap," he announced, "but we've received word from Bill Graham's office that there are phony tickets in circulation.We can't afford to get involved with that scene." So the special went on without on-the-air swapping.

It was like a thieves' market: frantic negotiations, bulletin board notices, suspicion over counterfeits. Are these tickets the right width? Is the print fuzzy? If you hold them under a black light does the word Stones glow in yellow? It was a mess. Everyone was out for a piece of the action. I spoke with one scalper who had no qualms about what he was doing. "Look," he told me, "these tickets say five bucks but you can't buy them for that. Ticketron took them all and with their so-called fifty cent service charge they made $9000 in one day. And they did absolutely nothing but buy the tickets and sell them again. I'm doing the same thing, and I'm not going to make anything like $9000."

There was also a small scale commercial civil war going on behind the scenes. In this country, the Stones appear on two different record labels. Starting with their first album in 1964 and through *Get Yer Ya-Ya's Out* they were on London. In 1971 they set up Rolling Stones Records, distributed by Atlantic, and released *Sticky Fingers*. London retaliated last December with *Hot Rocks*, a double Stones album drawn from old material, including several tracks off *Sticky Fingers* that were cut before the Stones left them and to which London still held rights. This May the Stones released a new album, *Exile on Main Street*, also a double, on their own label again.

To publicize their tour and their own label the Stones released a poster of a jetliner with the Stones' insigne blazoned on its tail. (It's a stylized picture of Mick Jagger's mouth, tongue sticking far out.) London Records released a poster of its own, showing the Stones, a map of their tour, and the covers of nine Stones albums on the London label. John Barbis, London's San Francisco promotion man, says, "Listen, we've got to sell those albums."

It was confused, but still an embarrassment of riches. Bill Graham's organization put out a poster of its own, a pair of tumbling dice to match the single off *Exile*. At Winterland you could buy Rolling Stones badges, pins, pendants–all in the mouth-and-tongue motif.

THE SHOW OPENED WITH AN OLD film, a 1964 rock and roll show featuring such period luminaries as Jan and Dean ("Little Old Lady from Pasadena"), Leslie Gore ("It's My Party"), James Brown, the Supremes, and the Stones themselves. During the film the audience held their places rather amiably. The Stones were preceded by Stevie Wonder and a big band. The people sitting on the open floor all stood. There was some jockeying for position near to the stage. Wonder did a good set, well received by an audience there only to see the Stones but willing to be entertained while they waited. Robert Shields, a local mime, held forth while the stage crew changed equipment.

Then Graham introduced the Stones and the scene on the floor turned ugly. In the next hour I learned what the territorial imperative is, what aggression is, how competition can build in a slightly submerged form until one false word or deed can produce violence. As it did at Altamont. It did not at Winterland, but it seemed to me a near thing.

With the appearance of the Stones the near audience began to use every possible tactic to reach the edge of the stage, Jagger pranced around and sang, seven men played, and there was a kind of limited war in front of the stage. The basic tactic was to find the contact point between two people in front of you. Somehow drive a wedge between them. For a man this could be done with a hand between the shoulders, for a woman it was more often a shoulder between the biceps. Or either could use a hip or knee.

Get any portion of your anatomy between the people, then alternately press forward and sideways, driving them out of the way, propelling yourself forward. People shoved, clawed, fought their way for ten or twenty rows to reach the front. There was no quarter given. Somewhere between two-thirds and three-quarters of the aggressors were women.

As in the ticket line, the crush of bodies during the performance generated huge amounts of heat and pressure. I saw one woman near me collapse; she didn't fall because she was caught upright by the press of people around her. She recovered and at the end of the show left with everyone else! The second night I sat high in a balcony.

The Stones themselves were a superb show. Their music is thoroughly familiar; performed live it is far more compelling than it is recorded. Jagger himself is the chief center of attention, cavorting around the stage in a white outfit or a black tank top with a portrait of Marilyn Monroe on his chest. His moves are largely copped from James Brown—using a film of Brown to open the show is either an act of overwhelming honesty in acknowledging one's sources or an act of complete disdain for all sensitivities. Take your pick.

(Continued on Page 61)

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Nixon's Vietnam Strategy: How It Was Launched with the Aid of Brezhnev and Mao And How the Vietnamese Intend to Defeat it

LATE THIS MAY, while President Nixon was giving away Cadillacs and signing treaties in the Kremlin, a letter soliciting funds for his campaign chest was sent to a select list of Republican supporters. The contents of the letter cast an illuminating light both on the strategy of the coming elections and its intimate links to the shifting vectors of the world power struggle.

"Dear Fellow American," it began, "We need your help to make the re-election of President Nixon a reality." We believe that the President should be re-elected, it went on, "*first,* because by travelling around the globe and meeting with all major leaders, he is setting us on the path to world peace"; *second,* because by appointing strict constructionists to the Supreme Court, "he is bringing law and order back to America," and *third,* because he is "slowing inflation" and has "helped to return America to a sound fiscal economy." (The bread and butter issue, usually in the number one spot in election campaigns, is no doubt relegated to such a low priority because, with a $90 billion deficit to explain, and large-scale unemployment to minimize, it is so weak.)

If the Nixon campaign strategy, as outlined in this letter, pays off, conservatism at home and abroad will be confirmed in November, as a workable solution to the conflicts and general disequilibrium which troubled the Empire in the Democratic '60s.

Such a prospect would have seemed wildly implausible just a short time ago. At this juncture, however, it is not only plausible, but all that remains to make it probable is a ceasefire agreement with the Vietnamese, sometime before the November election. One can confidently assume that such an agreement is the next objective of the Nixon-Kissinger strategy, the calculated climax of the diplomatic offensive which first came into the public eye with Kissinger's appearance in Peking just one year ago. Even a ceasefire agreement would virtually clinch Nixon's chances of re-election, and it is unlikely that, having gone to such lengths to create a winning hand, he will fail to play any card that would take in all the chips.

One can further assume that if Nixon gets a settlement, as the result of the diplomatic maneuvers of the last year, it will be a settlement that he wants, and not the settlement for which the Vietnamese have paid so heavy a price in human suffering and human life. For if Nixon were willing to settle for a face-saving exit from Vietnam, he could have done so three years ago when he first took office. In fact, 1969 would have been the best year to get a favorable (but meaningful) withdrawal agreement, because as a new president he was in a stronger bargaining position to negotiate such a solution. But Nixon did not want that kind of withdrawal, i.e., one that would "ratify" an NLF victory, and therefore he bent his policy towards another course.

While withdrawing American troops under the deceptive rubric of "Vietnamization," he escalated the air war in the South, invaded Cambodia and Laos, and resumed the bombing of the North; since then he has mined North Vietnam's harbors and in general

by David Horowitz

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President Nixon and Mao Tse-Tung

raised the technological assault to the most intense levels of the war. All this effort of diplomacy and destruction has been marshalled for the settlement Nixon wants – not a satisfactory withdrawal, but a settlement that would mean "pacification," denying the NLF the victory that it has won on the battlefield. Pacification has been the aim all the time; however much the original expectations have been lowered, the goal has remained. That is the meaning of the four years of Nixon's war in Vietnam.

What has given Nixon's strategy the prospect of success, where Kennedy and Johnson failed? It is simply that the Soviet Union and China, Vietnam's closest and most important allies, have accepted Nixon's offer (which Kennedy and Johnson could probably not have made): to come to the diplomatic table and pick up most of the chips that the Vietnamese have paid for with their lives. For the Chinese this has resulted in virtual recognition, UN membership, a general easing of U.S. cold war pressures, and the prospect of economic trade; for the Russians, a nuclear arms agreement, a long sought-for stabilization of the European security problem, and also the prospect of increased trade. As a result of these gains by their allies, the Vietnamese now stand virtually alone before the destructive might of the U.S. Air Force (even North Korea's Kim Il-Sung has taken the opportunity afforded by Nixon's diplomatic opening to indicate that he would welcome the chance to improve relations with the United States). Meanwhile, Nixon has been freed to prepare the settlement cards, which, if he has not already done so, he will shortly lay on the negotiating table. We don't even have to speculate about secret deals at this point; the very structure of the situation and the behavior of the great power participants only makes sense in terms of their desire to facilitate such a settlement.

That is the significance of the Sino-Soviet failure to react to the resumption of the air war against North Vietnam and the mining of Haiphong Harbor – indeed, their reception of Nixon as an honored guest within weeks of each of the respective escalations. For, until now, the fear of possible military responses by China and the Soviet Union has been *the* significant brake on the murderous propensities of the U. S. Air Force, prompting the White House to restrict its military leaders. A *New York Times* dispatch of June 12, under the heading "The Gloves Are Now Off in the U.S. Air War," tells how the situation has changed: "United States military leaders are being permitted to wage the air war as they want in Indochina," the *Times* corespondent writes from Washington. "North Vietnam's coast and harbors have been sealed off with mines and the bombing of military and industrial targets has become systematic and relatively unrestrained." Unlike the shifting objectives of Johnson's 1965-1968 campaign, the dispatch continues, "the goals of this air war are simple. Nixon Administration officials say they intend to deny North Vietnam any seaborne supplies that are essential to its long-term war effort."

Thus the Chinese and the Russians in effect have given Nixon the green light to make an all out effort to deny the Vietnamese the supplies necessary for them to continue the war on the military front. At the same time, it can be safely assumed that Nixon will also call the debts he has secured in Moscow and Peking, in the form of appropriate pressures on the Vietnamese to accept a "reasonable" compromise settlement at the negotiating table. Once having allowed the war effort to be so weakened, Vietnam's allies can be reasonably relied on to counsel early acceptance of realistic terms at the Paris talks. This was in fact the scenario of the 1954 Geneva Conference, at which China and Russia prevailed on the Vietnamese to accept an unviable agreement in the

Wide World Photo

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President Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev

face of Washington's nuclear gun. It seems practical of Nixon and Kissinger to hope that the gamble might work again.

For obvious reasons, the Vietnamese cannot disclose their present feelings about the policies of allies who are still assiduously sending supplies to be interdicted by Nixon's planes. But it is not really necessary to rely on pure conjecture in order to establish the terms in which the Vietnamese must view these developments. Within two weeks of Kissinger's surfacing in Peking in July 1971, the Vietnamese had warned that Nixon's policy was "aimed at achieving a compromise between the big powers in an effort to impose their arrangements on smaller countries." (Editorial in *Nhan Dan*, the organ of the People's Army, July 19, 1971) A month later, *Nhan Dan* analyzed the Nixon Doctrine which, it said, consisted of "dividing containing and repelling." According to *Nhan Dan,* Nixon wanted to "uphold the signboards of 'negotiation' and 'East-West detente' and realize the policy of making friends with every country with a view to driving a wedge among the socialist countries and pitting one country against another." Nixon's policy and scheme, *Nhan Dan* concluded, "amply demonstrate the inevitable trend of imperialism which, as Lenin has pointed out, wants to divide workers, increase opportunism within their movement and bring about its temporary dislocation." With regard to the peoples fighting for self-liberation, the "Nixon doctrine" wants, by wielding a steel fist in a velvet glove, to maintain and achieve neo-colonialism there at all costs." (*Nhan Dan* commentary August 30, 1971)

AN IMPORTANT INSIGHT is gained into the current turn of events by recalling Peking's very different position more than a decade earlier when Moscow called for a summit meeting as a "response" to Washington's Marine landings in Lebanon and Jordan at the time of the Iraqi revolution. In an editorial titled "The Countries and Peoples of the World Who Love Peace and Freedom Cannot Look On With Folded Arms," the *People's Daily* proclaimed: "Nothing can be saved by yielding to evil, and coddling wrong only helps the devil. The histories of the aggressive wars launched by Hitler Germany and Japan are still fresh in the memories of the whole world and are sufficient to bring this lesson home. Consequently, if the U.S.-British aggressors refuse to withdraw from Lebanon and Jordan, and insist on expanding their aggression, then the only course left to the people of the world is to hit the aggressors on the head! . . . The imperialists have always bullied the weak and been afraid of the strong. The only language they understand is that of force."

Recalling China's stance in this incident provokes two immediate reflections. First, the current Chinese response (or lack of response) to Washington's escalation of the war in Indochina is evidently not an inevitable reflex of Chinese weakness, as many on the left are suggesting, but flows from a deliberate policy choice. For China was far weaker *vis-à-vis* the United States in the days when its posture was far more militant, viz., when it committed troops in Korea in 1951, when it shelled the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu in 1955 and 1958 and provoked an international crisis of the first magnitude, or when it dealt the Indian army a strong retaliatory blow in the border war of 1962.

The political, as opposed to the military sources of the present posture of compliance can perhaps best be seen by the absence of any public demonstrations in China in response to the mining of Haiphong Harbor. This can be contrasted with China's response to the Cambodian invasion, just two years ago, when a million demonstrators marched in the streets

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of Peking. Even within the current context of cautious detente with Washington, such a demonstration would have been in order. But there was none. Behind this vacuum lies the fact that the current shift in Chinese policy is not merely tactical, but strategic, part of the fundamental re-orientation of China's foreign policy that began in earnest with the acceptance of Nixon's proposed visit. This re-orientation was possible only after a tremendous internal struggle in the Chinese party. A faction, led by Lin Piao, opposed the detente with Washington, and apparently advocated, as an alternative, an effort to heal the breach with the Soviet Union, and step up support for Vietnam. The defeat of Lin Piao's faction was registered in the disappearance of a number of important Party leaders last fall (see RAMPARTS, March 1972), and by the internal exile of Lin Piao himself, who reportedly has been sent to a commune for political rehabilitation. A mass demonstration over the mining of North Vietnam's harbors, it can be hypothesized, would have provided a rallying point for the followers of Lin to use as a vehicle for promoting a strong Sino-Soviet response to the U.S. aggression, and opposition to the long-term goals of China's present leadership, which gives equal priority to the struggle against Moscow and Washington, at the expense of the Vietnamese.

This points up the second insight afforded by the comparison of China's present and previous postures towards U.S. interventions in the Third World, namely, that the shift in China's policy is undoubtedly the key factor in the current train of events. For if China had initally failed to go along with the Nixon visit, or if China chose to balk at any point, the Nixon strategy could not be made to work. However overblown China's rhetoric of militance has been in the past (just what in practical terms could hitting the aggressors on the head have meant in the Middle East in 1958, for instance), China's active advocacy of the revolutionary interest of smaller nations was a crucial check on Moscow's ability to compromise the struggles of Third World peoples, like the Vietnamese. The Russians, in point of fact, have wanted a compromise settlement in Vietnam all along, but neither Kennedy nor Johnson could get them to exercise enough pressure on the Vietnamese to accept a disadvantageous arrangement, because Moscow always had to look over its shoulder at Peking. As long as China was ready to expose such a deal or, by offering independent aid to the Vietnamese, upset it, the Russians were reluctant to pursue "coexistence" to such lengths. Too heavy-handed a pressure on the Vietnamese might at the very least have moved Hanoi into Peking's camp in the Sino-Soviet struggle and caused incalculable damage to the Soviet international image; on the other hand, as long as the Chinese could offer Vietnam an alternative source of supply, no threat to withdraw aid would have the possibility of being decisive. It was thus absolutely critical for Nixon to be accepted in Peking first, if such an arrangement were to have a chance of success.

Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow marked the satisfactory completion of the first two stages of his pacification strategy. Whether he will be able to complete the third stage remains to be seen. One month after the mining of North Vietnam's harbors, the critical factor in the war still remains the endless resourcefulness and courage of the Vietnamese themselves.

To defeat the calculations of the Nixon-Kissinger plan, the Vietnamese strategy has been to launch an offensive on the battlefield which will undermine, militarily, the very pacification settlement that Nixon is preparing for the conference table. In his report in this issue (page *21*), Tom Hayden analyzes the nature and prospects of the Vietnamese offensive, and the basis for continuing optimism that they, the forces of the NLF and the DRV, can achieve a just end to their epic struggle.

Two other factors could conceivably play a role in the outcome of the current Vietnamese offensive, which, as Hayden's informants in Paris make clear, is conceived in political and diplomatic as well as military terms. The first and most tenuous of these is the perhaps still uncertain political situation in China. How secure the present leadership faction in Peking is, is not known. Whether a dramatic shift in the military balance in Vietnam or some changing alignment in the Sino-Soviet balance will cause a corresponding reappraisal of current Chinese strategy, or whether that strategy can survive the passing of Mao, is also unknown. But a re-orientation of Chinese policy in the form of increased emphasis and support for Vietnam's struggle could at any point have a major effect on the outcome of the Indochina war.

Secondly, there are the factors of U.S. domestic politics–the anti-war movement and the candidacy of George McGovern*–both of which can set real limits to the ability of Nixon to implement his strategy, both to escalate the war further and to withhold acceptable terms for a settlement. A strong revival of the anti-war movement and/or a hard-hitting campaign on the war issue, could significantly enhance the possibility of a relatively quick and just end to the war ("just" that is, for the Vietnamese, the only party to the war that has a claim to justice).

Finally, it needs to be said that, by their weakness in the face of Washington's campaign of terror, both the Soviet Union and China have seriously jeopardized the gains that have been made in the last decade toward putting some controls on the U.S. war machine. It was only the immense resistance put up first of all by the Vietnamese, but also by the American anti-war movement, that forced the issue of withdrawal to the center of the American political stage in this presidential campaign. By dealing with Nixon in the hour of his escalations, the Russians and the Chinese have undermined that effort, and thereby endangered world peace. The Vietnamese, on the other hand, in the midst of their own increased suffering, intensified hardship, and incalculable risk, have redoubled their energies of struggle. Once again, their example must become an inspiration and call to the anti-war movement at home, not only for their sake, but for our sake.

** This is being written three weeks before the Democratic Party Convention, but it obviously applies to any candidate (e.g., Kennedy) who might make a strong campaign on the war.*

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The Prospects of the Vietnam Offensive

"In Vietnam spring is beautiful because it is usually the season of national glory. This land of braves was founded four thousand years ago in springtime. Since then its history has recorded resplendent pages, mostly in the spring.

"Liberation fighter, spring in Vietnam is ineffably beautiful. Tet in Vietnam is unbelievably epic. Apricot blossoms vie with other blooms in cheering your feats. Swallows are soaring overhead, waiting for your good tidings, to carry them to our countrymen in North and South, to our friends in all the five continents.

"Liberation fighter, spring belongs to you. Your exploits will give it a more dazzling brilliance.

"Liberation fighter, let off your gun instead of the traditional crackers. Wave your flag in lieu of the customary flowers. And ornament Vietnam's spring with an everlasting beauty."

—From *South Vietnam in Struggle*, official organ of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, February 14, 1972

"We know that some of our Western forms have another connotation in Vietnam. Maybe we don't have enough imagination."

—Henry Kissinger, press conference, May 9, 1972

THE SPRING OFFENSIVE IN VIETNAM brings the generation-long war to its most critical stage. "From the beginning of the offensive until the moment of final victory we consider to be one period of continuous struggle—military, political and diplomatic. Not two periods, not three periods, but one period." These were the carefully chosen words of an important but untitled Vietnamese source when we talked in Paris in early June.

The official Vietnamese view, given by Ly Van Sau of the People's Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) a week earlier, was nearly as optimistic: "The people's liberation armed forces have developed a position of victory, of continuous offensive. . . . In all the big battles it is we who impose the conditions under which we fight, not the enemy."

As these declarations of optimism were made, the largest armada of B-52s in the history of aerial warfare was unleashing hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs on all of Vietnam and the American government and mass media were declaring the offensive variously to be "stalemated," "a last gasp," "a desperate attempt to shore up a negotiating position," and some were even proclaiming its defeat. No one in Washington, however, was claiming any great successes for the U.S. trained and financed troops of the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon, and all were agreed that the B-52s were the main barrier between the Vietnamese people and the victory of their liberation war. The Nixon Administration, like administrations since 1941, still found that its military technology was being used as a protective shield around an unsalvageable and hopelessly corrupt Saigon regime. The critical nature of the crisis exposed by the spring offensive was that the Thieu regime could not stand on its own against withering and sustained revolutionary warfare. And since that regime and the Vietnamization program in general represent the last strategy seriously available to an American president, the time of final showdown in the Vietnam war seemed to have arrived.

As recently as February, Nixon was proclaiming the success of his entire Vietnamization program. He was still claiming, as he did after the 1971 incursion into Laos, that the Saigon army could "hack it." He was confident that the war would not be an issue in the election year. His Air Force secretary was reporting that the "smart bombs" of the electronic battlefield were working wonders in reducing supplies going down the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Melvin Laird was asserting that an offensive by the NLF was impossible. In his State of the World message in February Nixon reported that 90 percent of South Vietnam was pacified. Pentagon computers designated provinces like Binh Long, where the battle at An Loc would rage only two months later, as 100 percent pacified. The Mekong Delta, scene of several hundred guerrilla attacks up to battalion size during the offensive's first three months, was considered to be a pacified area in which "all but a handful of the more than 4300 hamlets and most of the 6.8 million people" were safely in hand (*Wall Street Journal*, April 24, 1972). This pattern of illusion continued even to the first moment of the offensive, which found Ambassador Bunker vacationing with his wife in Kathmandu. Interwoven with the illusions was a growing tendency towards "psywar" pronouncements designed to blur the negative image of Vietnam in the minds of the American voters. Psywar would reach its most blatant level in the ultimate pronouncement that the offensive was aggression from the North. This is a convenient attempt to erase the fact that the real invasion was from U.S. bases in Thailand and Cambodia and aircraft carriers in the South China Sea, that Vietnam is one country with two zones of combined struggle against

In an effort to clarify the purpose and effectiveness of the Vietnam offensive, Tom Hayden, David Dellinger and Rennie Davis met at their own initiative with the PRG and DRV delegations in Paris from June 6 to June 10.

by Tom Hayden

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American aggression. William Beecher revealed the cynicism of American propaganda in the April 6 *New York Times:*

> For days Administration spokesmen have been intensifying their rhetoric in describing the North Vietnamese offensive as an "invasion," a "blatant invasion," and a "naked attack" with tanks and self-propelled guns across the border. *Officials privately conceded this was a conscious attempt to prepare the American public both for South Vietnamese reverses and for a possible decision to expand the war against North Vietnam.*

Nixon was consistently promising that there were two roads by which he might end the Vietnam war. The first was his offer of peace negotiations, the eight points, a proposal which would have left the National Liberation Front disarmed and invited to participate in "free elections" sponsored by a Saigon regime armed and financed by the United States, and which includes 200,000 police whose primary mission is to search out and destroy NLF political cadre. The second option, Nixon said, if a negotiated settlement on his terms was unacceptable, would be continued Vietnamization of the war, bringing American offensive participation in the war to an end before the 1972 election.

The major purpose of the spring offensive, as judged by events on the battlefield, has been to utterly destroy Nixon's option of Vietnamization and to make a negotiated settlement the only possible basis for ending the war, not the settlement envisioned by Nixon in his eight points but rather along the lines of the seven point proposal of July 1971. The two main points of that rejected proposal are first that Nixon set a date for the withdrawal of U.S. forces, in exchange for which American POWs would be returned simultaneously with the withdrawal, and second that the U.S. withdraw support from Thieu and his supporters, letting emerge a conditional government of the PRG, the urban opposition and elements of the former Saigon regime.

WHAT DOES THE DESTRUCTION OF Vietnamization mean concretely? It means, in military terms, that the entire strategic reserve of the Saigon army has been committed to a battlefront in which its forces have been over-extended, nailed down, and have begun to suffer devastating losses. Of the thirteen divisions of the Saigon army, two were completely wiped out in the first two months of the offensive—the 3rd division, which retreated from Quang Tri, and the 22nd division, which collapsed in the Central Highlands. Of the remaining eleven divisions, all had lost between several battalions and several brigades in the same two month period. They were pinned down at three fixed points: below the DMZ in the Quang Tri-Hue area, in the center of South Vietnam in the Kontum area, and in the third military region northwest of Saigon around the provincial capital of An Loc. These were battlefronts chosen at the initiative of the liberation forces in which the conventional ARVN troops were held under devastating siege. The result was not only crippling casualties for these divisions but to tie up ARVN forces at three points, thereby permitting an enormous front of smaller scale uprisings to sweep through the more populated areas of the country, notably the coastal plains from Hue south to Binh Dinh province (the second most populated province in Vietnam) and through the Mekong Delta where more than one-third of the people of South Vietnam reside. In two months the Thieu Administration had irreversibly lost huge areas of South Vietnam in which millions of people live. The liberation army was taking territory with no apparent intention of allowing it to be reoccupied by Saigon. As a guerrilla army, the NLF has never emphasized fixed territory ("the real boundaries of the liberated zone are kept inside each Vietnamese"), but it seems apparent that the weakened ARVN would find it largely impossible to reoccupy and control the enlarged and strengthened areas of the PRG.

In the Mekong Delta (Military Zone 4 on American military maps) 7 million South Vietnamese peasants live. For years they have supported first the Viet Minh and then the National Liberation Front, and they control among other things much of the rice supply to the rest of South Vietnam. In the eyes of the *New York Times* of April 22, a "very dark situation" was emerging in the Mekong Delta as early as the third week of the offensive, a development which the *Times* admitted had been "overshadowed" by the sensational publicity given to other battles. This very dark situation consisted of more than 500 guerrilla attacks in two weeks, some of them involving NLF battalions of 200 to 300 men, with fighting taking place within 40 miles of Saigon (closer than An Loc). Chuong Thien province, called by the *Times* "the hub of the lower Delta," was virtually in NLF hands. One month later, on May 28, the *Times* acknowledged that 77 government outposts had been taken over in Chuong Thien alone and the pacification program was destroyed. One American advisor described the province as a "cavity," and another said, "We're just gradually disappearing from sight down here."

What had made this popular uprising against the government outposts and pacification programs possible was the offensive as a whole. On April 6, the offensive had opened up north of the Delta in Binh Long province (Military Zone 3), sweeping everything away in the northern half of the province, finally engaging the ARVN at the provincial capital of An Loc. The 11,000 men of the ARVN 21st division were then pulled out of the Delta and rushed north as part of a relief force for An Loc. As soon as the main ARVN conventional troops who had been occupying the Delta were pinned down in that battle, the local guerrilla units throughout the Mekong Delta were able to unleash their wave of attacks against government outposts throughout the region.

Meanwhile the 21st division which had been rushed from the Delta promptly was bogged down and placed under siege on Highway 13. On April 23 the *Times* reported that they had virtually "abandoned their effort," given up and "moved into the rubber plantations and forests nearby."

An Loc soon became a battle of internationally symbolic but largely misunderstood importance. Like cities throughout Indochina before it, An Loc was completely destroyed under the rain of American bombs which continued for weeks, including one day when 1700 tons of bombs were dropped by B-52s in an effort to "save" it. The

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thousands of ARVN troops inside the city itself were trapped in a bloody defensive position while thousands of other ARVN troops were equally trapped in the defense of useless positions on Highway 13. The wave of guerrilla attacks, bypassing these fixed positions, approached even the outer defense perimeter of Saigon itself with rocket attacks by early May. It became clear that An Loc would be added to a list of places (like "Hamburger Hill") where American forces "won" by suffering under siege warfare until the other side switched its focus. The U.S. would claim an empty victory while downplaying its massive casualties and passive position.

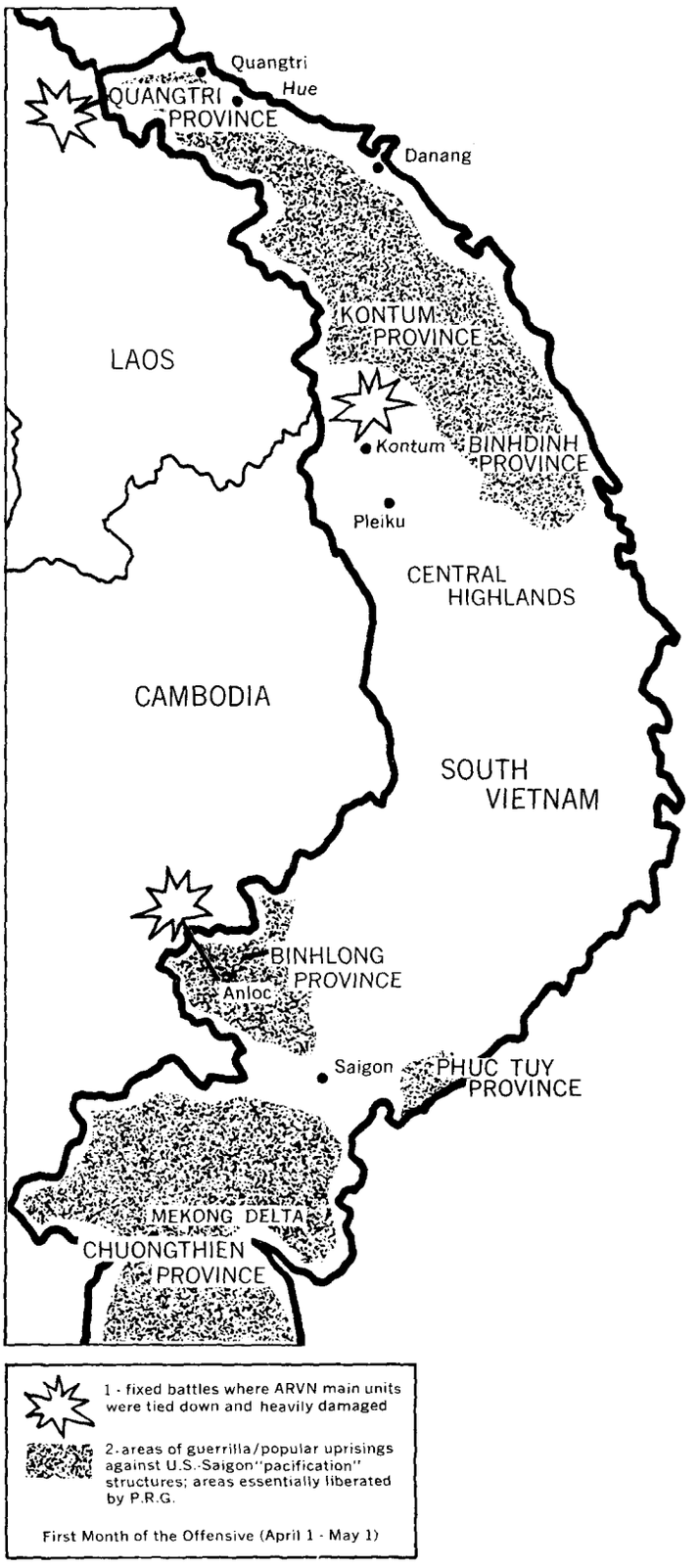
The battle of An Loc, perhaps more than any other in the offensive, focuses on the problem of dealing with people's war from the position of the oppressor, from the standpoint of an army without significant popular roots. The contradiction is described by the guerrillas as that between concentrating and dispersing one's forces. The ARVN, like the U.S. army before them, relies mainly on artillery and air power, not on political popularity. This "strength" can only be used through the concentration of material power directed against trapped guerrillas. But without popular support these blows force an occupying army to become stretched out like the fingers of a hand, stabbing down violently everywhere. Concentrated force turns into overextended force.

Theoretically there is a solution for the oppressor: pacification, the creation of "popular" support through forced submission. In other words, creating secure villages or strategic hamlets which could be defended by the local inhabitants after the conventional ARVN or U.S. armies conducted search and destroy missions and air strikes in the surrounding areas. Having secured the village, the conventional army with its concentrated technological force could move on to the next objective.

But for all its effectiveness at "search and destroy," neither the U.S. army nor its Saigon clients have been able to achieve the necessary corollary of pacification. Without pacification their initially superior power is doomed to weakness. When concentrated, they are forced back into enclaves, and the countryside is opened to the people and the guerrillas. When dispersed, their technically superior force loses its striking power through overextension into too many forays and is in grave danger of letting its units become bogged down, pinned and surrounded, bled by guerrilla attacks and helpless to use its technological superiority and air mobility in other places. The problems of concentration and dispersal can be solved by the PRG and DRV by drawing upon the "reserve force" of an entire nation. But the ARVN can only rely on a thin and unstable fraction of the people. Their few "elite" units were destroyed in the February 1971 "incursions" into Laos and Cambodia. Their remaining reserve was immediately overextended in the first days of the offensive.

When the offensive began in Quang Tri instead of in the Central Highlands as had been expected, nine Ranger battalions of the ARVN were flown north immediately to Quang Tri (*New York Times*, May 3, 1972), leaving behind in the Highlands only the 22nd ARVN division. (The 22nd division is the "weakest and worst led" division of the ARVN according to the *Times*, April 25, 1972. Its first commander, widely believed to be in the narcotics trade, had a "heart attack" shortly after the offensive began and was replaced by General Nguyen Van Toan,

Liberation Forces Offensive



Map by Louise Kollenbaum

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who is known as the "cinnamon general" because of his traffic in that commodity and who, according to the *Los Angeles Times,* has a "pronounced reputation for high living," and was relieved of his prior command when "charged with rape by his teenaged maid.") As soon as the 22nd division was left on its own by the outbreak of the offensive to the north, the offensive began in the Highlands. The 22nd division was quickly forced into a 115 mile retreat down Highway 14, losing six fire bases in three days and, as described in the U.S. press, "running like mad." American advisors beat them away from helicopters with rifles (*New York Times,* April 2, 1972).

In the meantime, while the publicity in the Highlands focused on the growing siege of Kontum city, guerrillas in Binh Dinh province on the coast of the same military zone (a province with than more a million residents, more populated than any part of South Vietnam except Saigon) expelled the entire Saigon presence from more than half of the districts and raised the PRG flag. When the guerrillas reached the district capital of Hoi An in Binh Dinh province, the Saigon troops fled and gave up the town because "reinforcements could have been drawn only from even more crucial areas."(*New York Times*, April 29,1972) Thus the most populated area of the coastal highlands fell to guerrillas in less than three weeks.

On the most publicized front, that of Quang Tri and Hue, the offensive wiped out fifteen fire bases in one week, then stopped at the Cua Viet River by the town of Dong Ha. On April 24, when the offensive had surfaced to the south in the Central Highlands, three battalions of 600 ARVN Rangers each were rushed from Quang Tri to Pleiku in the Highlands to reinforce that newly threatened zone, a move which "reflects confidence that the far north is out of danger for the moment." (*Times*, April 24, 1972) One week later, Quang Tri fell.

A final ironic example of the dilemma of concentration versus dispersal for the U.S.-Saigon forces was revealed in the fact that the Ho Chi Minh Trail became more open to supply convoys than it was before the offensive unfolded. According to the *L.A. Times*, April 28, 1972, "Hanoi is moving supplies southward along the Ho Chi Minh Trail more effectively than it had since the U.S. started concentrating its air attacks on the supply lines." In March the Air Force claimed to be hitting 250 trucks per week on the Trail. By the end of the first month of the offensive the number of trucks hit had fallen to 25 per week, down by 90 percent. The reason: the overextension of air power needed on several fronts simultaneously throughout Indochina.

THE FORTITUDE AND POLITICAL/MILITARY brilliance of the liberation forces is almost impossible for Americans to understand, much less accept. Even the proud Cuban government, early in the offensive, described the Vietnamese resistance struggle as having already reached "a legendary level." Of course, the main reason for America's failure to anticipate the offensive, despite all of the government's sophisticated intelligence machinery, lies in the consistent overestimation of technology and underestimation of popular will, typical in the thinking of Western countries. The strategy of people's war is entirely different in principle from Western military strategy, with its emphasis on technology, artillery and bombs. The technology of people's war in the beginning consists almost entirely of weapons stolen from the enemy or makeshift ones forged out of wood and stone.

Technology never develops ahead of the people, making them dependent on it for survival, but only as a tool for the people as their forces grow. The important thing about the tanks used in the present offensive, for example, is how they arrived in areas like Binh Long, the Central Highlands, Quang Tri – hundreds of miles below the DMZ – without being detected. Conceivably they were driven under jungle canopy, with guerrillas sweeping away the

Wide World Photos

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tracks behind them. Another possibility was the technique used in preparation for the siege against Dien Bien Phu. The French then believed that their base could not be seriously attacked because the Viet Minh supply lines supposedly ran 500 kilometers back to the Hanoi area—too far to move artillery or trucks or heavy weapons of any kind. But the Viet Minh solved the supply problem, which in Western armies is considered to be a purely technical and logistical one, through the involvement of human beings by the thousands. These people carried dismantled parts of heavy weapons, fed and supported the passing troops, and then constructed a giant "factory" in the forest outside of Dien Bien Phu, where the big guns were reassembled for final use—all of this without the knowledge of French intelligence or aerial reconnaissance crews.

It is also nonsense to believe the American press reports that "Hanoi has committed virtually all of its divisions," its entire regular army, to the Southern battlefield (as American planners will see if they pursue the adventurist policy of invading North Vietnam above the demilitarized zone). The folly of this view is again a Western one, based on the notion that people's war consists of a regular army rather than of the people themselves in their dispersed villages and provinces. In other words, even if the U.S. claim were true, that all of North Vietnam's army is outside of Vietnam (and it must be said that there is *no* reliable source whatever for this report), it would still be a profound mistake to assume that North Vietnam is therefore undefended and exposed. People's war grows up in every house, in every hamlet, in every village. Local defense units grow into district and province level defense units before they become regular or mobile units. From one generation to the next, masses of *people* provide the new armed forces of the nation—the younger units beginning with the accumulated wisdom of their predecessors—and therefore each new generation of fighters is enriched, not like an American army with its base of conscripts, its high turnover rate, its resulting inexperience at the rank and file level.

The same Western orientation to the Vietnam problem causes a false optimism in Washington with the arrival of each "lull" on the battlefield, as if these lulls represent a withering of the offensive or even a collapse. This concept of a lull is based on the military notion of a regular army hammering forward in a straight line, confronting obstacles and becoming bogged down. This conception has nothing to do with the structure and mode of operation of a guerrilla army—even a guerrilla army employing tanks or other advanced and sophisticated weapons. A guerrilla army is by nature not even primarily military, but political. This means, for example, when Quang Tri province is completely liberated from U.S. and Saigon control, the liberation armed forces are confronted with massive political, economic and medical problems having to do with the care, sheltering, feeding, and evacuating of an entire population of hundreds of thousands of people. Americans are told in the media only of the few thousand Vietnamese who flee from Quang Tri city, and the debate in the U.S. becomes whether they are fleeing from "communist terror" or American bombs. While it is essentially the latter that they are fleeing from (there is little real evidence of Vietnamese shelling Vietnamese civilians), the major point is that the great majority of the invisible people of Quang Tri province remain in Quang Tri and have immediate survival needs that the liberation army has to contend with.

Americans are furthermore told that the next step of the offensive after the fall of Quang Tri must be the attack on Hue, and American observers are "puzzled" as to why the other side does not press its advantage quickly. This too is a military notion based on Patton's armor and John Wayne's heroes crashing forward in simple, straight military lines.

The difference between conventional warfare and people's war in this regard was clarified by a South Vietnam-

(Continued on page 51)

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Lasers into Pruning Hooks: Science for the People

by Maurice Bazin

THREE YEARS AGO A FEW YOUNG MEMBERS of the American Physical Society startled their colleagues by wearing a lapel button which read "Science for the People." The reaction of older established members was typically: "What do you mean—the people? Am I not the people too?"

Today things have changed and who the people are has been made clearer to us, particularly through the hints at Chinese attitudes and explanations of what moves the Chinese scientist today, which our distinguished colleague, Professor Chen Ning Yang,* has brought back to us from his travels. In the past we have excelled in our mouthing of humanitarian propaganda, but have contradicted it in our practice—look at Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, or Attica; the Chinese, on the other hand, have been rather poor at getting across the meaning of their rhetoric but rather good in their practice, as several other traveling scientists have also witnessed.

So the question that I want to examine today is how science relates to people, but with the avowed bias that science should be *for* the people, that is, for the benefit of all the people. Physicists should not feel threatened by such an idea, but, on the contrary, challenged into meeting the needs of human beings. In colonial days when we thought of humanity, as Jean Paul Sartre eloquently pointed out, we thought that this world was inhabited by half a billion *men* and one and a half billion *natives*. Today I want to turn my attention to those three quarters of humanity whom we have totally neglected and which we call the Third World.

They include the poor in industrially underdeveloped countries. They include all the people, usually of color, of all former colonial areas. They include China and Latin America. They do not include Russia and its satellites which in this numerical way of speaking form the Second World and, of course, they do not include the world which we study in Western Civilization—our world—which ruthlessly dominated the Third World up to the middle of this century and still does in many areas.

When considering the relationship of physicists especially to the Third World, we shall have to ask ourselves how much they participated in the domination and exploitation which was perpetrated upon that part of humanity.

"How does this come about," someone will ask, "when in fact all we do is lecture about the atom and x-rays?" Indeed, it comes about because we lecture *only* about x-rays and the atom. Meanwhile, bombs are raining on the people of Vietnam, and electronic sensors sniff for life to destroy it. Someone has designed these gadgets; someone has perfected them with that very same knowledge about x-rays and electrons which we so freely provide. And I find one recent development particularly interesting for the consideration of this audience today. I am referring to cluster bombs. These bombs, which can kill everything living over a surface the size of a football field, consist of a big mother bomb and small daughter bombs with pellets or fragments in them. In the past these fragments were made of metal, and could be detected by x-rays in Vietnamese hospitals. But, somehow, somewhere, someone who must be a scientist had the idea that it would be better if those pellets could not be detected by x-rays. So those bombs today contain fragments which are made of plastic. They were designed with the proper density not to be detected by x-rays, but they were also designed with the proper mechanical shapes to maim. This is a direct application of the basic principles of physics to the achievement of genocide.

"So," you will say, "shall we stop lecturing about x-rays and the atom? Are they not part of the natural world which we find so thrilling to investigate?" No, you should not stop lecturing about x-rays, but as you do so you should talk about what x-rays are used for today in today's most obvious applications, their relation to Third World people. And you must also talk about airborne infrared detectors over the jungles of South America. And this we have not done.

What we have done, what the world knows physicists have done, is put expertise at the service of the Pentagon and its agencies for technological warfare. The main contribution of physicists has been through their participation in those think-tanks which perpetrate war more scientifically on Third World people. One of the best known of

*Nobel Laureate in Physics, 1957.

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those think-tanks is the Institute for Defense Analyses, and its specialized branch for the use of university intellectuals called the Jason Division in which Murray Gellmann* was a participant and Marvin Goldberger** the chairman. In years past the Institute for Defense Analyses organized summer institutes on specific aspects of physics for the use of the military. One of these had to do with the application of lasers. Everyone comforted me when I raised questions about the consequences of such cooperation: "Lasers could never be powerful enough to be of use to the military." So somewhere on the California coast our high-energy theoretical elite spent part of a summer thinking about lasers. And a few months ago there were laser-guided bombs used on the people of Vietnam. And the sudden and well-publicized interest of those colleagues of ours in saving the flamingoes of the Everglades will not bring Vietnamese back to life. As far as the general attitude of the Institute for Defense Analyses towards the Third World is concerned, it can be best exemplified by the title of one of its reports which reads, "Research and Development Planning for Welfare in Underdeveloped Areas of the World."

BUT OUR ROLE AS SCIENTISTS has been not only through laissez-faire by not confronting issues in our lecture halls or through factual contributions to the destruction of human beings. It has also been through our intellectual cooperation in exporting the ideology of oppression and of domination, in spreading far and wide the myth of the inevitability of the separation of people into superior scientists and laymen, into classes of exploiters and exploited, into privileged elites and illiterate masses. The very few scientists from the First World who tried through misguided goodwill to participate in educational programs in underdeveloped countries have pointed out the futility of their efforts. *Physics Today* has published several reports about teaching in India or Pakistan in which the main conclusion is that those participating in teaching there accomplished very little. First, they were overwhelmed with the poverty they saw; second, with the lack of connection between what they did and taught and the human misery around them; and third, they were overwhelmed with the fantastic amount of elitism and personality cult which they witnessed among their students and colleagues and the utter disregard which those privileged students had for the needs of their people. But what our colleagues in those positions often did not realize was that their very presence as foreign experts, as revered sage men of nuclear science, tacitly justified the whole pattern of class domination. Far from combating the basic scheme of social inequity, they used its existence as a justification for their own work. Thus, one finds Michael Moravcsik writing in *Minerva* about the reverence with which cab drivers in Lahore, Pakistan regard the name of Abdus Salam—apparently not realizing that this kind of awe for the elites only serves to make the poor accept their own oppressed position more readily and to allow Mr. Salam and a few favored others to keep doing pure science and pure research in Trieste while a couple million East Pakistanis get murdered by the army.

Let us look furthermore at the content of educational aid programs. In the early '60s, as soon as PSSC* was put together, it was exported to people who live in countries where 80 percent of the population goes barefoot in villages with no electricity. One brings to teachers who are part of the local well-off bourgeoisie the PSSC course in which all examples, instead of being taken from collisions of billiard balls, are drawn from collisions of nuclear particles. In this manner one turns one's audience away from its nontechnological culture and surroundings towards some remote, ultimate nuclear truths which they cannot touch and which they can only admire through the descriptions offered by the traveling mandarins dispatched from the seat of the empire. And this guarantees the state of powerlessness of those whom one is teaching—their powerlessness in front of our technological and technocratic civilization. Students could not reproduce experiments with atoms. They could only admire the fact that we can do it. And they could only imagine us as living in a better world because we could do such experiments. The result of this straightforward exporting of the inaccessible glitter of modern science is that the best elements in the universities of underdeveloped countries emigrate; they get drained into our pure research programs, into our elite ways of life; they have succumbed to our intellectual propaganda, even if we propagated it unconsciously. Those who have been brain-drained can only meet frustration if they ever go back to their country of origin. They have nothing to connect to there. They need contacts and the level of development which they met in the U.S., and they end up in that state of total dependence in which they have to beg for money to buy American equipment which, incidentally, makes the corporations of this country love us. Through this elite type of education into which we have misled them, we have guaranteed their state of uselessness to their own country. And this is not a small phenomenon. It goes far beyond the pure numerical statistics of the brain drain, although those in themselves are rather appalling: for instance, in the medical sciences the number of doctors trained in Third World countries and brain-drained into this country per year is equivalent to the output of the fifteen largest medical schools in this country.

But one must realize that physicists do not participate necessarily knowingly in this great enterprise of cultural imperialism. We are in fact being used, being used by those who really decide how money gets spent for foreign aid, like the Rockefellers, the Fords, and others. Having been trained to consider science as socially neutral, physicists lack the political background to analyze what the social consequences of their actions are. On those pleasant trips to exotic lands the professor becomes an overall advisor, and he makes up proposals for development which are meant, he thinks, to solve everything. And here we meet the great arrogance of expertise. One of those proposals, put forward by Steven Dedijer, suggests that every president of a newly independent nation have science advisors

* *Nobel Laureate for work in Theoretical Particle Physics.*

** *President of the Federation of American Scientists, a liberal group created to oppose the misuse of nuclear technology.*

* *Physical Science Study Committee, a physics course for advanced high school students.*

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around him, a copy, I suppose, of PSAC* which has had its hour of glory in this country. Similarly, Michael Moravesik, writing some years ago from his office at the Livermore laboratory, proposed to send two hundred U.S. scientists yearly to underdeveloped nations to help them. But what he seems to have forgotten is that, through the brain-drain phenomenon, each year, not 200, but 2000 scientists from underdeveloped nations are brain-drained into the United States and that figure has been increasing with time. So 200 are no payback for the initial plunder. Meanwhile we, as scientists, continue to help propagate the myth that science is a solution to everything–as if, when scientific research goes on in a country, the country will develop and its people will be free. This has been proven wrong and a United Nations study on the Second Development Decade puts it very simply: "This argument that all research ultimately benefits everyone is now known to be false." Engaging on such a path only guarantees the existence of class structures by enforcing the position of privileged ones over unprivileged ones. Science per se, without participating in the total challenge of the existing system of class exploitation, can lead not only nowhere, but to the reinforcement of that very system.

SO WE HAVE BEEN USED. We have been used for what Eugene Skolnikoff calls "prestige and propaganda" in his book *Science, Technology and American Foreign Policy*, and Skolnikoff should know: he was on the staff of PSAC. Our best known names have been used for propaganda purposes, including Oppenheimer, who in 1961 was taken on a glorious tour of Latin America sponsored by the Organization of American States supposedly to explain the beauties of nuclear science. In fact, this trip, which made him front-page news from Mexico to Brazil, was equivalent to the trip the first astronauts were sent on through underdeveloped countries to suggest, I suppose, the cosmic superiority of capitalism.

If we look at our condition in historical perspective, we can say that scientists, in our present civilization of oppression, a civilization which thrived upon the slave trade and pursues the destruction of Vietnam, have been playing the role which in earlier times was played by the religious missionaries. They were the intellectual smoke screen, the ideological cover-up for the most brutal enterprise of colonization. They were used to teach natives respect for the rulers. Scientists today in fact perpetuate the oppression of the Third World as they whirl around the world sounding the promises of technical nirvanas to come, wrapping into the wonders of science the capitalist social order and bourgeois ideology.

And this is not only true abroad; it is true right around us, in the prisons of this country whose population consists in a majority of people representing the Third World: the Blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Chicanos. Formerly, prisons were made acceptable to the conscience of ordinary citizens through the belief that the well-being of the soul of the prisoners was guaranteed by the presence of a priest. Today, in our materialistic morality, it is the prison dietician whose scientific degree apparently guarantees the physical well being of the prisoners and thus pacifies our revulsion at the whole oppressive system.

Anything scientific or technical is not either neutral or good as is usually assumed. Computers, for instance, were advocated as necessary to come out of underdevelopment. But let me relate to you the experience which a Puerto Rican student once had with a computer. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on project MAC computers are used for education; one such program consists in having a computer advise high school students and do guidance counseling. Here is what happened to that Puerto Rican student:*

The computer: "Speak up."
The student: "I feel persecuted and discriminated against in this country."
Computer: "Tell me more about such feelings."
The student: "It is because I am a Puerto Rican."
Computer: "Is that the real reason?"
Student: "Yes."
Computer: "You are being somewhat short with me."
Student: "But that is the real reason."
Computer: "Suppose that were not the real reason."
Student: "Well then I would say that you were wrong."
Computer: "Perhaps in your fantasy we would say, each other."
Student: "But you are accusing me of lying. You don't seem to trust anything I say. You are taking my remarks lightly."
So the student went on. "Getting back to what I was saying, I'm being discriminated in school because I am a Puerto Rican."
Computer: "Is it because you are being discriminated in school because you are a Puerto Rican, that you came to me?"
Student: "Yes."
Computer: "You seem quite positive."
Student: "That is what all my friends tell me."
Computer: "Your friends tell you?"
Student: "That I am being discriminated against because I am Puerto Rican."
Computer: "Can you elaborate on that?"
Student: "They think that I am funny, different, and weird. What do you think?"
Computer: "How long have you been funny?"

And the student started getting mad.

Student: "Do you know what a Puerto Rican is?"
Computer: "Is it really relevant to our problem?"
Student: "I think it is essential to my problem."
Computer: "Please continue. This may be interesting."
Student: "You see I am dark skin and most people are white skin."
Computer: "Perhaps I do see."
Student: "Why do people dislike dark skin people in America?"
Computer: "What does that suggest to you?"
Student: "That they are all bigots and terrible people."
Computer: "Would you like if they were not all bigots?"
Student: "Very much so."

* *President's Science Advisory Committee (created by John F. Kennedy).*

* *The Rican*, 1971.

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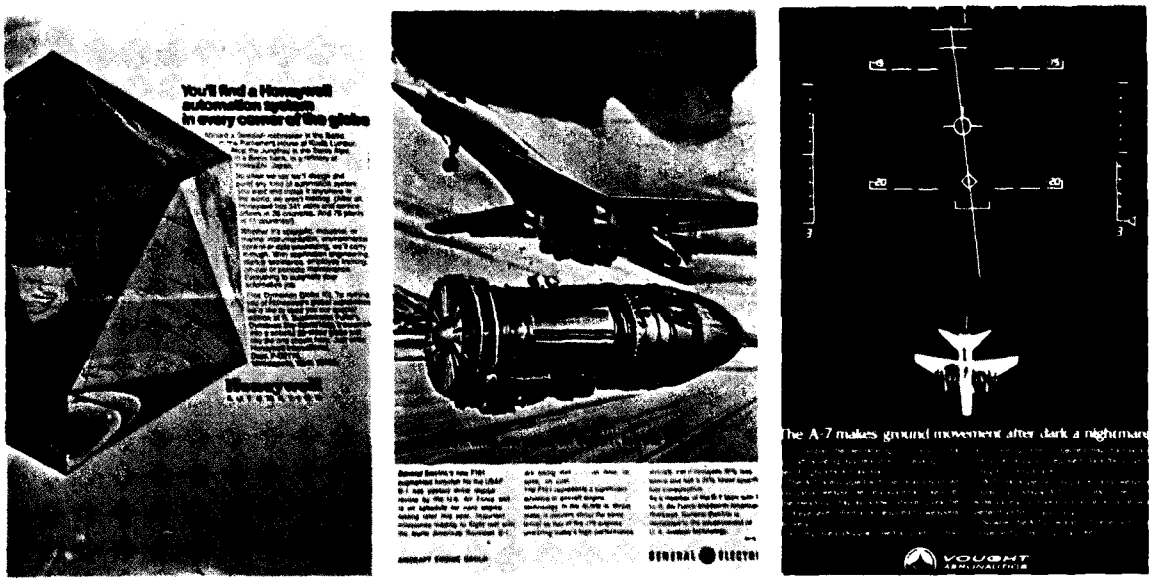
You'll find a Honeywell
automation system
in every corner of the globe
The A-7 makes ground movement after dark a nightmare
GENERAL ELECTRIC
VOUGHT

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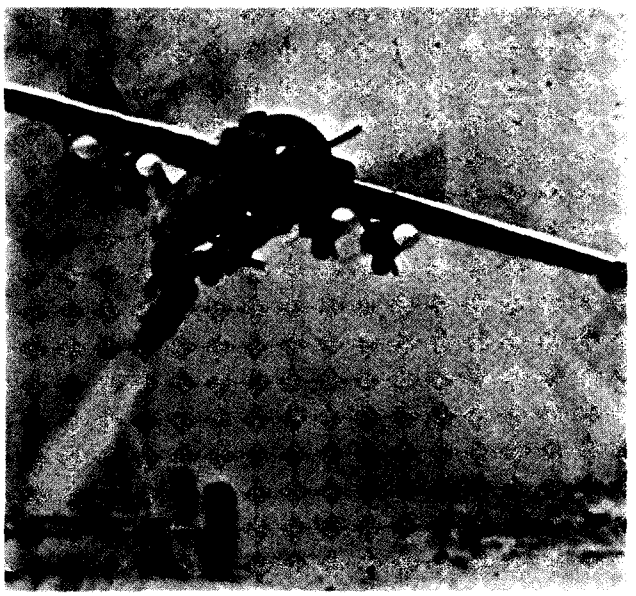

Remote-control guided red drone

The land

Computer: "Do you feel strongly about discussing such things?"
Student: "Have I not?"
Computer: "This is quite interesting."

This short exchange should make one thing clear, that racist attitudes can be wired in, by default.

Student: "Getting back to what I was saying, people, white people, are all against me."
Computer: "Were you really?"
Student: "Was I really what?"
Computer: "What if you were really what?"
Student: "I'm confused."
Computer: "Do you enjoy being confused?"
Student: "Not at all."
Computer: "What do you think about yourself?"
Student: "Habla usted Español?"
Computer: "I'm sorry. I speak only English."

This is how far this student got with that computer. But I refuse to accept that raising the issues that I'm raising here today is like talking to this perfectly logically programmed computer. It is never too late to look at the Third World as made up of human beings whom we consider all as human beings and not as a reservoir from which to extract the high potential students, from which to select a few, to mold them to our own technological image. It is, in fact, high time to consider that science for science's sake is obsolete. And the American Association for the Advancement of Science must have its name changed to the American Association for the Advancement of Human Welfare. I wish also to say something at this point to the graduate students who presently feel the weight of the system's utter lack of vision and purpose; I would like to point out, in a firm but comradely manner, to those who created the American Physicists Association, that they too fell into the bourgeois ideological trap of egotistical sur-

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ADSID sensor: triggered by ground vibrations

Pineapple and guava b

vival by fighting for narrow group interests instead of uniting with other victimized sectors. Such an association is again a group for the defense of privileges, and it will not radically change the social order; graduate students cannot win anything of consequence by taking on alone the oppressive system and asking for little personal accommodations within it.

SO LET US LOOK TOGETHER for what must be done. If we all agree in theory that science for the people is worthwhile, then let us put it into practice. Let us continue talking in our classrooms about the beauty of physics and science. But let us link it to its daily results and probe into the true causes of those results. Let us in our research aim towards those things which we know may serve people. There is presently a program going on in the biology department at the University of Chicago called "Science for Vietnam"; write and find out about it. Several people have also disclosed attempting to use ultra sounds to detect those famous plastic pellets from the cluster bombs when they lodge themselves in Vietnamese flesh. And when you cannot get a grant to support such research, face up to it and to what it means; discuss it; speak up; live.

But no little program, however well-intentioned it may be, will be able to change the whole atmosphere in which we operate. We have to do much more. We have to change a whole consciousness. This is where the attitude of the Chinese which I hinted at at the beginning comes in. This is where the idea of serving the people has to take a meaning—a precise, practical meaning. We all know now that in China the worker's advice and the peasant's criticism help the researcher to find useful paths, in an atmosphere of respectful equality. Our own motivations have to come from concern and respect for all human beings too; we have to abandon and then combat the ideology of our biology colleague, Charles Darwin—we have to combat his

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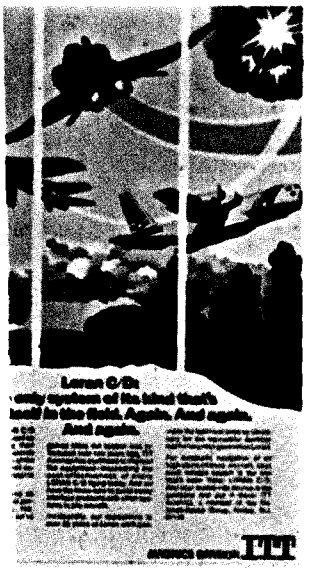
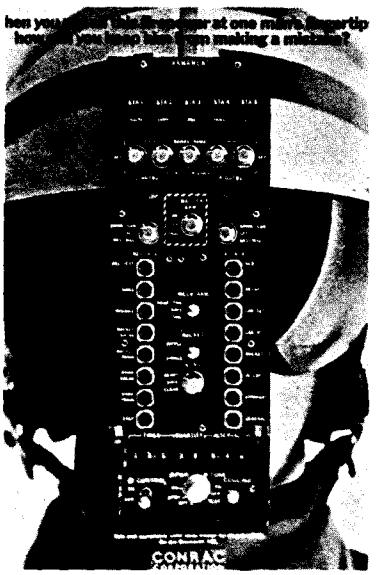
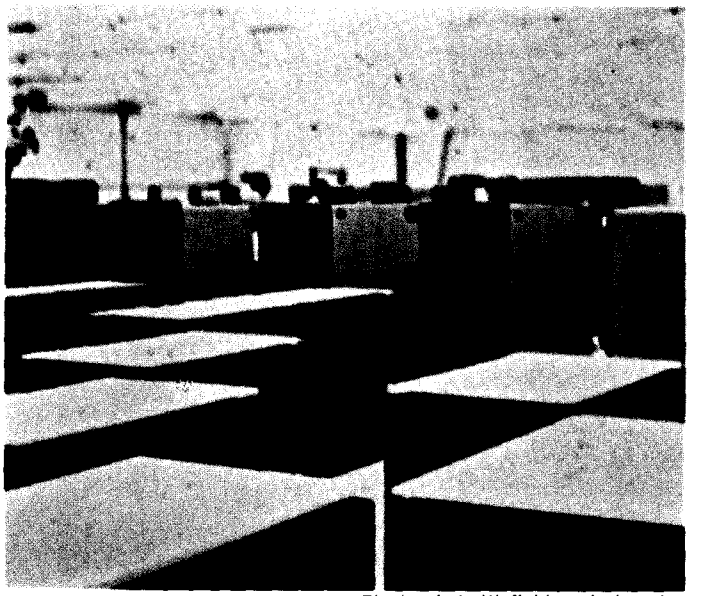




Pineapple bomb made into a wick lamp



Electronic battlefield control center

ethics of aggression and competition on which the exploitation of the Third World is ultimately based.

To make as clear as possible what a commitment to Science for the People means, let me illustrate it in the medical sciences. Let me compare the kind of flamboyant scientist which our Christian white world has produced, Doctor Barnard of South Africa and heart exchanges, to the doctors whom the Third World will remember, if anonymously. Doctor Barnard makes people believe that science is good because it can perform individualized theatrics whereas what the Third World needs are medical men who will go to villages to teach people how to take care of daily health problems, how to arrange for proper sanitation, doctors who will travel thousands of miles, not on lecture tours but on large-scale immunization campaigns; and this does not require any show like that put on by Dr. Barnard in the Rio de Janeiro Stadium while most of his audience was suffering from intestinal parasites.

Do not think that, as physicists, you can find excuses for not serving the people and even the people of the Third World, pretending that it is too far, for the Third World is no further than the nearest slum which probably surrounds your university. And at some urban universities, a few scientists have started community-oriented programs to offer to the people there technical tools which can put some power into their own hands. But such programs do not pop out of a vacuum, or from a sudden fever of good will. They depend upon understanding of the political and social forces which created and work to maintain the ghetto. For, in the end, you will only be able to answer what is to be done when you have faced squarely the fact that there is no neutrality in human affairs and that, therefore, we all must face up to our intellectual responsibility.

Maurice Bazin, Professor of Physics at Rutgers University, gave this address to the American Physical Society on January 1, 1972.

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The Rising

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Graphics are from "The Rising Cry for Justice," a room-sized exhibit on the Vietnam War created by students and faculty of the Immaculate Heart College Art Department in Los Angeles. Made up of serigraphs, paintings, photographic silkscreens and lettering, the exhibit is available for distribution from the Indochina Information Project.

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U.S. Electronic Espionage: A Memoir

ABOUT THIRTY MILES NORTHEAST of CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, right off the Baltimore-Washington expressway overlooking the flat Maryland countryside, stands a large three story building known informally as the "cookie factory." It's officially known as Ft. George G. Meade, headquarters of the National Security Agency.

Three fences surround the headquarters. The inner and outer barriers are topped with barbed wire, the middle one is a five-strand electrified wire. Four gatehouses spanning the complex at regular intervals house specially-trained marine guards. Those allowed access all wear irridescent I. D. badges – green for "top secret crypto," red for "secret crypto." Even the janitors are cleared for secret codeword material. Once inside, you enter the world's longest "corridor"–980 feet long by 560 feet wide. And all along the corridor are more marine guards, protecting the doors of key NSA offices. At 1,400,000 square feet, it is larger than CIA headquarters, 1,135,000 square feet. Only the State Department and the Pentagon and the new headquarters planned for the FBI are more spacious. But the DIRNSA building (Director, National Security Agency) can be further distinguished from the headquarters buildings of these other giant bureaucracies –it has no windows. Another palace of paranoia? No. For DIRNSA is the command center for the largest, most sensitive and far-flung intelligence gathering apparatus in the world's history. Here, and in the nine-story Operations Building Annex, upwards of 15,000 employees work to break the military, diplomatic and commercial codes of every nation in the world, analyze the de-crypted messages, and send on the results to the rest of the U.S. intelligence community.

Far less widely known than the CIA, whose Director

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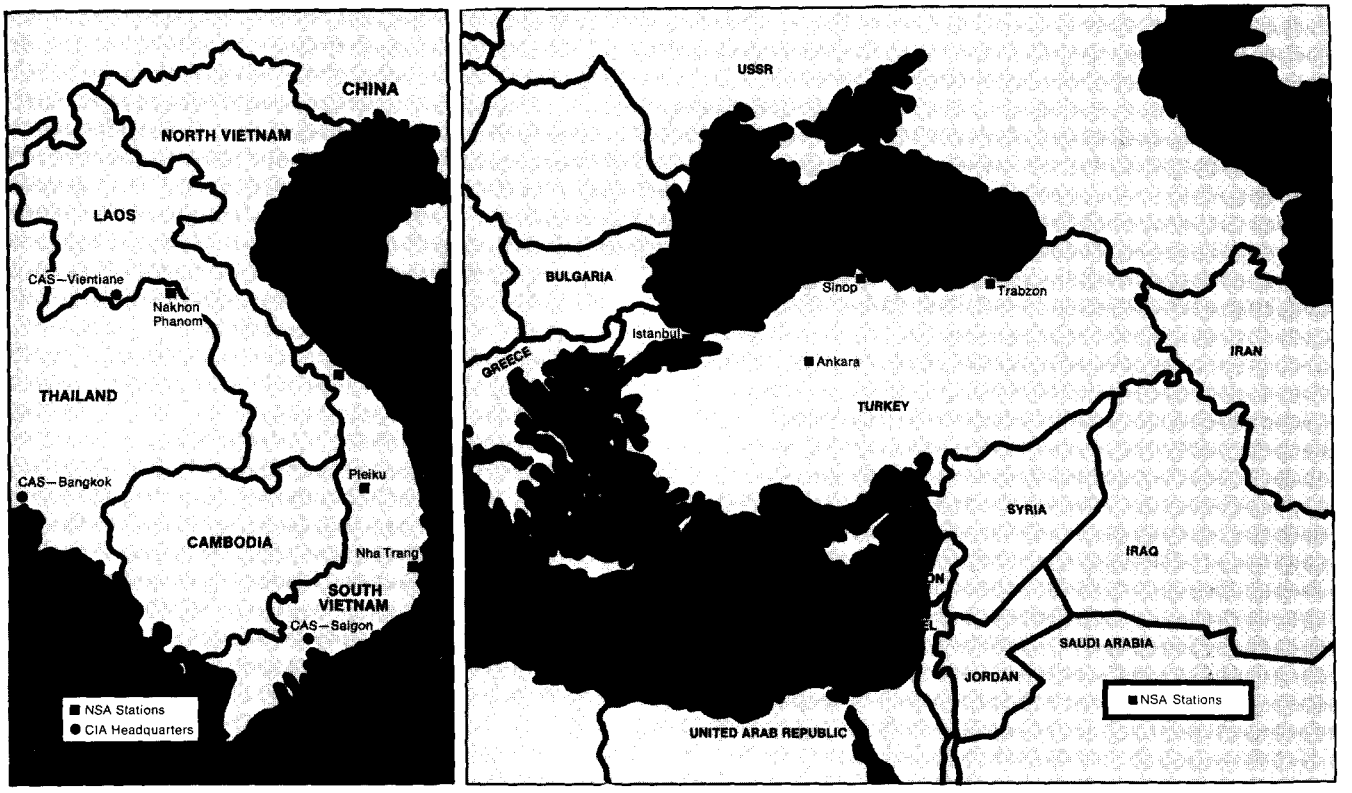

Richard Helms will occasionally grant public interviews, NSA silently provides an estimated 80 percent of all valid U.S. intelligence. So secret, so sensitive is the NSA mission and so highly indoctrinated are its personnel, that the Agency, twenty years after its creation, remains virtually unknown to those employees outside the intelligence community. The few times its men have been involved in international incidents, NSA's name has been kept out of the papers.

Nevertheless, the first American killed in Vietnam, near what became the main NSA base at Phu Bai, was an NSA operative. And the fact that Phu Bai remains the most heavily guarded of all U.S. bases suggests that an NSA man may well be the last.

THE SCOPE OF NSA'S GLOBAL mission has been shrouded in secrecy since the inception of the Agency. Only the haziest outlines have been known, and then only on the basis of surmise. However, Ramparts was recently able to conduct a series of lengthy interviews with a former NSA analyst willing to talk about his experiences. He worked for the Agency for three and a half years—in the cold war of Europe and the hot one in Southeast Asia. The story he tells of NSA's structure and history is not the whole story, but it is a significant and often chilling portion of it.

Our informant served as a senior NSA analyst in the Istanbul listening post for over two years. He was a participant in the deadly international fencing match that goes on daily with the Soviet Union, plotting their air and ground forces and penetrating their defenses. He watched the Six Day War unfold and learned of the intentions of the major powers—Israel, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Egypt—by reading their military and diplomatic radio traffic, all of it duly intercepted, de-coded and translated by NSA on the spot. As an expert on NSA missions directed against the Soviet Union and the so-called "Forward Countries"—Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania and Yugoslavia—he briefed such visiting dignitaries as Vice President Humphrey. In Indochina he was a senior analyst, military consultant and U.S. Air Force intelligence operations director for North Vietnam, Laos, the northern-most provinces of South Vietnam and China. He is a veteran of over one hundred Airborne Radio Direction Finding missions in Indochina—making him thoroughly familiar with the "enemy" military structure and its order of battle.

With the benefit of the testimony he provides, we can see that the reason for the relative obscurity of NSA has less to do with its importance within the intelligence community than with the limits of its mission and the way it gets its results. Unlike the CIA, whose basic functions are clearly outlined in the 1947 law that created it, NSA, created in 1952, simply gathers intelligence. It does not formulate policy or carry out operations. Most of the people working for NSA are not "agents," but ordinary servicemen attached to one of three semi-autonomous military cryptologic agencies—the Air Force Security Service, the largest; the Naval Security Group; and the Army Security Agency, the oldest. But while it is true that the Agency runs no spies as in the popular myth, its systematic Signal Intelligence intercept mission is clearly prohibited by the Geneva Code. What we are dealing with is a highly bureaucratized, highly technological intelligence mission whose breadth and technological sophistication appear remarkable

Maps by John Williams

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even in an age of imperial responsibilities and electronic wizardry.

So that not a sparrow or a government falls without NSA's instantaneous knowledge, over two thousand Agency field stations dot the five continents and the seven seas. In Vietnam, NSA's airborne flying platforms carrying out top secret Radio Direction Finding missions, supply U.S. commanders with their most reliable information on the location of communist radio transmitters—and thus on the location of NLF units themselves. Other methods—the use of sensors and seismic detectors—either don't work or are used merely to supplement NSA's results. But the Agency's *tactical* mission in Indochina—intelligence support for U.S. commanders in the field—however vital to the U.S. war effort, is subsidiary in terms of men, time and material to its main *strategic* mission.

The following interview tells us a great deal about both sides of the NSA mission—everything from how Agency people feel about themselves and the communist "enemy" to the NSA electronic breakthroughs that threaten the Soviet-American balance of terror. We learn for example that NSA knows the call signs of every Soviet airplane, the numbers on the side of each plane, the name of the pilot in command; the precise longitude and latitude of every nuclear submarine; the whereabouts of nearly every Soviet VIP; the location of every Soviet missile base; every army division, battalion and company—its weaponry, commander and deployment. Routinely the NSA monitors all Soviet military, diplomatic and commercial radio traffic, including Soviet Air Defense, Tactical Air, and KGB forces. (It was the NSA that found Che Guevara in Boliva through radio communications intercept and analysis.) NSA cryptologic experts seek to break every Soviet code and do so with remarkable success, Soviet scrambler and computer-generated signals being nearly as vulnerable as ordinary voice and manual morse radio transmissions. Interception of Soviet radar signals enables the NSA to gauge quite precisely the effectiveness of Soviet Air Defense units. Methods have even been devised to "fingerprint" every human voice used in radio transmissions and distinguish them from the voice of every other operator. The Agency's Electronic Intelligence Teams (ELINT) are capable of intercepting any electronic signal transmitted anywhere in the world and, from an analysis of the intercepted signal, identify the transmitter and physically reconstruct it. Finally, after having shown the size and sensitivity of the Agency's big ears, it is almost superfluous to point out that NSA monitors and records *every* trans-Atlantic telephone call.

Somehow, it is understandable, given the size of the stakes in the Cold War, that an agency like NSA would monitor U.S. citizens' trans-Atlantic phone calls. And we are hardly surprised that the U.S. violates the Geneva Code to intercept communist radio transmissions. What is surprising is that the U.S. systematically violates a treaty of its own making, the UKUSA Agreements of 1947. Under this treaty, the U.S., Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia erected a white-anglo-saxon-protestant nation communications intelligence dictatorship over the "Free World." The agreement distinguishes between three categories of intelligence consumers: First, Second, and Third Party consumers. The First Party is the U.S. intelligence community. The Second Party refers to the other white anglo-saxon nations' communications intelligence agencies: e.g. Great Britain's GCHQ, Canada's CBNRC, etc. These agencies exchange information routinely. Non-WASP nations, the so-called Third Party nations, are placed on short intelligence rations. This category includes all our NATO allies—West Germany, France, Italy, as well as South Vietnam, Japan, Thailand and the non-WASP allies in SEATO. But the idea of a closed club of gentlemanly white men gets quickly dispelled when we learn that the U.S. even intercepts the radio communications of its Second Party UKUSA "allies." From the U.S. military base at Chicksands, for example, and from the U.S. Embassy in London, NSA operatives busily intercept and transcribe British diplomatic traffic and send it off for further analysis to DIRNSA.

WE FEEL THAT THE INFORMATION in this interview—while perhaps not of a "sensitive" nature—is of critical importance to America for the light it casts on the cold war and the anti-communist myths that perpetuate it. These myths about the aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union and China and about North Vietnam's "invasion of a democratic South Vietnam," can only be sustained by keeping the American people as ignorant as possible about the actual nature of these regimes and the great power relationships that exist in the world. The peace of the world, we are told, revolves shakily on a "balance of terror" between the armed might of the Soviet Union and the United States. So tenuous is this balance that if the U.S. were to let down its guard ever so slightly, if it were, for example, to reduce the ever-escalating billions allocated for "defense," we would immediately face the threat of destruction from the aggressive Soviets, who are relentless in their pursuit of military superiority. Our informant's testimony, based on years of dealing with hard information about the Soviet military and its highly defense-oriented deployment, is a powerful and authoritative rebuttal to this mythology.

But perhaps an even more compelling reason requires that this story be told. As we write, the devastating stepped-up bombing of North Vietnam continues. No one can say with certainty what the ultimate consequences of this desperate act are likely to be. Millions of Americans, perhaps a majority, deplore this escalation. But it would be a mistake to ignore the other millions, those who have grown up in fear of an entity known as "world communism." For them Nixon's latest measures have a clear rationale and a plausible purpose. It is precisely this political rationale and this strategic purpose that the testimony of our informant destroys.

We are told by Nixon that South Vietnam has been "invaded" by the North which is trying to impose its will on the people of the South. This latest version of why we continue to fight in Indochina—the first version stressed the threat of China which allegedly controlled Hanoi, even as Moscow at one time was thought to control Peking—emphasizes Hanoi's control over the NLF. Our evidence shows that the intelligence community, including NSA, has long determined that the NLF and the DRV are autonomous, independent entities. Even in Military Region I, the northern-most province of South Vietnam, and the key

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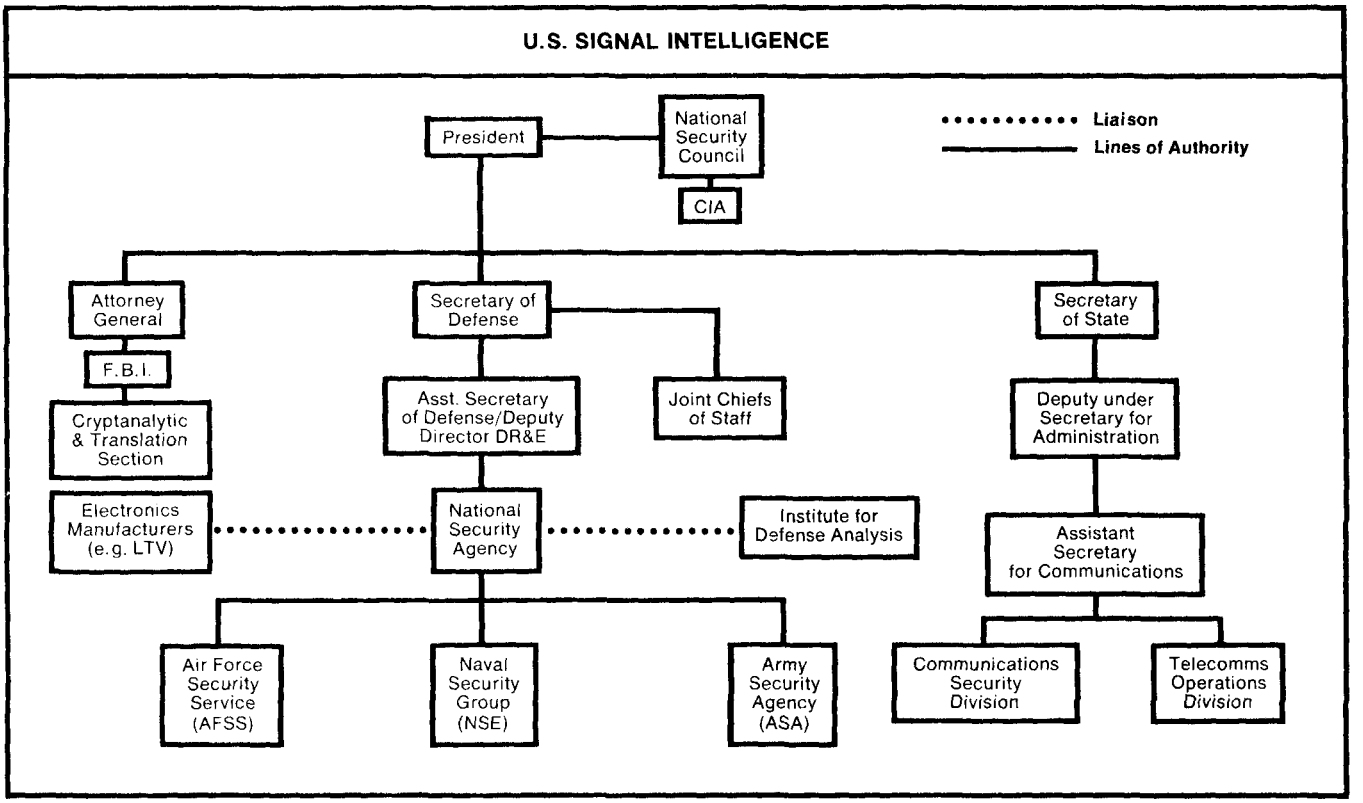

region in the "North Vietnamese" offensive, the command center has always been located not in Hanoi, but somewhere in the Ia Drang valley. This command center, the originating point for all military operations in the region, is politically and militarily under the control of the PRG. Known as Military Region Tri Ten Hue (MRTTH), it integrates both DRV and NLF units under its command. Hanoi has never simply "called the shots," although the DRV and the PRG obviously have common reasons for fighting and share common objectives. All of this information NSA has passed on systematically to the political authorities who, equally systematically, have ignored it.

Nixon's military objective — halting supplies to the South through bombing and mining of North Vietnamese ports—turns out to be as bogus as his political rationale. Military supplies for the DRV and the NLF are stored along the Ho Chi Minh trail in gigantic underground staging areas known as bamtrams. These are capable of storing suplies for as long as twelve months, at normal levels of hostilities, according to NSA estimates. Even at the highly accelerated pace of the recent offensive, it would take several months (assuming 100 percent effectiveness) before our bombing and mining would have any impact on the fighting.

Taken altogether, the experience of our informant in Europe, in the Middle East, and in Indochina bears witness to the aggressive posture of the United States in the late 1960s. It is hard to see anything defensive about it. Our policy makers are well-informed by the intelligence community of the defensive nature of our antagonists' military operations. The NSA operations here described reflect the drive of a nation to control as much of the world as possible; whose leaders trust no one and are forced to spy on their closest allies in violation of treaties they initiated themselves; leaders, moreover, for whom all nations are, in the intelligence idiom, "targets," and who maintain the U.S. imperium around the world in large part through threat of actual physical annihilation.

At home, however, the favored weapon employed is ignorance rather than fear. Like NSA headquarters itself, the United States is surrounded by barriers—barriers of ignorance that keep its citizens prisoners of the cold war. The first obstacle is formed by the myths propagated about communism and about its aggressive designs on America. The second, and dependent for its rationale on the first, is the incredible barrier of governmental secrecy that keeps the most questionable U.S. aggressive activities hidden not from our "enemies," who are the knowledgeable victims, but from the American people themselves. The final barrier is perhaps the highest and is barbed with the sharpest obstacles of all. It is nothing less than our own reluctance as Americans to confront what we are doing to the peoples of the world, ourselves included, by organizations like the National Security Agency.

* * *

Q. Let's begin by getting a sense of the National Security Agency and the scope of its operations.

A. O.K. At the broadest level, NSA is a part of the United States intelligence community and a member of the USIB, the United States Intelligence Board. It sits on the Board with the CIA, the FBI, the State Department's RCI, and various military intelligence bureaus. Other agencies also have minor intelligence-gathering units, even the Department of Interior.

All intelligence agencies are tasked with producing a particular product. NSA produces—that is, collects, analyzes,

Illustration by John Williams

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and disseminates to its consumers—Signals Intelligence, called SIGINT. It comes from communications or other types of signals intercepted from what we called "targeted entities," and it amounts to about 80 percent of the viable intelligence the U.S. government receives. There is COMSEC, a secondary mission. This is to produce all the communications security equipment, codes, and enciphering equipment for the United States and its allies. This function of the NSA involves the monitoring of our own communications to make sure they are secure. But SIGINT is the main responsibility.

As far as NSA's personnel is concerned, they are divided into two groups: those that are totally civilian, and those like me who derived from the military. As far as the collection of data is concerned, the military provides almost all the people. They are recruited through one of the service cryptologic agencies. The three agencies are the U.S. Air Force Security Service (USAFSS), the Army Security Agency (ASA), and the Navy Security Group (NSG). These agencies may control a few intelligence functions that are primarily tactical in nature and directly related to ongoing military operations. But generally, DIRNSA, the Director of the National Security Agency, is completely in control over all NSA's tasks, missions, and people.

The NSA, through its sites all over the world, copies—that is, collects—intelligence from almost every conceivable source. That means every radio transmission that is of a strategic or tactical nature, or is related to some government, or has some political significance. NSA is powerful, and it has grown since its beginning back in 1947. The only problem it has had has come over the last few years. Originally it had equal power with the CIA on the USIB and the National Security Council. But recently the CIA has gained more of a hegemony in intelligence operations, especially since Richard Helms became director of the entire intelligence community.

Q. Does the NSA have agents in the field?

A. Yes, but probably not in the way you mean it. It is different from other intelligence agencies in that it's not a consumer of its own intelligence. That is, it doesn't act on the data it gathers. It just passes it on. Generally, there's a misconception all Americans have about spying. They think it's all cloak and dagger, with hundreds of James Bonds wandering around the world in Aston-Martins, shooting people. It just doesn't happen. It's all either routine or electronic. I got to know a lot of CIA people in my three and a half years with NSA, and it became pretty clear to me that most of them sit around doing mundane stuff. You know, reading magazines, newspapers, technical journals. Like some people say, they do a lot of translating of foreign phone books. Of course I did meet a few who were out in the jungles with guns in their hands too.

But as far as the NSA is concerned, it is completely technological. Like I said, at least 80 percent of all viable intelligence that this country receives and acts on comes from the NSA, and it is all from signals intelligence, strategic and tactical. I saw it from both angles—first strategic in working against the Soviet Union in Turkey and then tactical flying missions against the VC in Nam. Information gathered by NSA is complete. It covers what foreign governments are doing, planning to do, have done in the past; what armies are moving where and against whom; what air forces are moving where, and what their capabilities are. There really aren't any limits on NSA. Its mission goes all the way from calling in the B-52s in Vietnam to monitoring every aspect of the Soviet space program.

Q. In practical terms, what sort of data are collected by NSA?

A. Before going into that, I should get into the types of signals NSA collects. There are three basic areas. First is what we called ELINT, electronics intelligence. This involves the interception and analysis of any electronics signal. There isn't necessarily any message on that signal. It's just the signal, and it's mainly used by technicians. The only time I ever remember using ELINT was when we were tracking a Russian fighter. Some of them had a particular type of radar system. As I remember, we called this system MANDRAKE. Anyhow, every time this system signalled, a particular type of electronic emission would occur. Our ELINT people would be looking for it, and whenever it came up, it would let them positively identify this type of fighter.

The second type of signal is related to this. It is intelligence from radar, called RADINT. This also involves the technicians. Let me give you an example. There is a particular type of Soviet radar system known in NSA by a code name which we'll call SWAMP. SWAMP is used by the Soviet technical air forces, by their air defense, by the KGB and some civilian forces. It is their way of locating any flying entity while it's in the air. It had a visual readout display, so that, whenever a radar technician in the Soviet Union wanted to plot something on his map, he could do it by shooting a beam of light on a scope and then send it to whoever wanted to find out information about that airplane. Our RADINT people intercepted SWAMP signals in our European listening posts. From the data they got, NSA analysts were able to go back to the headquarters at Fort Meade and in less than eight weeks completely reconstruct SWAMP. We duplicated it. This meant that we were able to see exactly what the Soviet operators were seeing when they used SWAMP. So, as far as this radar was concerned, the upshot was that they were doing our tracking for us. We knew everything they knew, and we knew what they were able to track over their airspace, and what they weren't.

Q. Does this mean we can jam their radar?

A. Yes, part of the function of ELINT and RADINT is to develop electronic counter measures. There's a counter measure for every type of Soviet radar.

Q. You said there were three areas. You've gone over ELINT and RADINT. What's the third?

A. This is by far the most important. It's communications intelligence, COMINT. It involves the collection of the radio communications of a targeted entity. NSA intercepts them, reproduces them in its equipment and breaks down any code used to encipher that signal. I should say that what I call a "targeted entity" could be any country—NSA gathers data on them all—but in practical terms it's almost synonymous with the Soviet Union.

COMINT is the important function. It's what I was in, and it represents probably 95 percent of the relevant SIGINT intelligence. As a matter of fact, the entire intelligence

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community is also known as the COMINT community.

Q. It would probably be good to backpedal for a moment before we go into your experiences in NSA and get into the way you joined the organization.

A. Well, I'd been in college, was bored, and wanted to do something different. I come from the Midwest, and we still believed those ads about joining the military and seeing the world. I enlisted in the Air Force. Like everybody else, I was shocked by basic training, but after that, when it came time to choose what I'd be doing for the rest of my time, it wasn't too bad. I tried for linguist's training, but there weren't any openings in the schools. I was then approached by three people I later found were a part of the National Security Agency. They interviewed me along with four other guys and asked us if we'd like to do intelligence work. We took a battery of tests, I.Q. and achievement tests, and had some interviews to determine our political and emotional stability. They really didn't go into our politics very much, I guess because we were all so obviously apathetic. Their main concern was our sex life. They wanted to know if we were homosexual.

At this point, it was 1966. I suppose I had what you would call an analysis of the world situation. But it was primarily based on a belief in maintaining the balance of power. I really didn't see anything wrong with what our government was doing. Also, the few hints about what we might be doing in NSA were pretty exciting: world-wide travel, working in the glamorous field of intelligence, being able to wear civilian clothes.

After getting admitted, I was bussed to Goodfellow Air Force base at San Angelo, Texas. Originally it was a WAC base or something like that, but now it's entirely an intelligence school for NSA. The whole basis of the training was their attempt to make us feel we were the absolute cream of the military. For most GIs, the first days in the military are awful, but as soon as we arrived at school, we were given a pass to go anywhere we wanted, just as long as we were back in school each morning. We could live off base; there was no hierarchical thing inside the classroom.

Q. What sort of things did you focus on in school?

A. At first, it was basic stuff. For about two months we just learned primary analysis techniques, intelligence terms, and a rough schematic of the intelligence community. We learned a few rudimentary things about breaking codes and intercepting messages. A lot of people were dropped out of the program at this time because of inadequate school performance, poor attitude, or because something in their backgrounds didn't prove out. Actually, of fifteen people with me in this class, only four made it through. We had been given access only to information rated "confidential" all the time, but then we got clearance and a Top Secret cryptologic rating.

The first day of the second phase of school began when we walked into the classroom and saw this giant map on the wall. It was marked "Top Secret," and it was of the Soviet Union. For the next three months, we learned about types of communications in operations throughout the world and also in-depth things about the political and administrative makeup of various countries. The Soviet Union, of course, was our primary focus. And we learned every one of its military functions; the entire bureaucratic structure, including who's who and where departments and headquarters are located; and a long history of its military and political involvements, especially with countries like China and the East European bloc, which we called "the forward area."

We learned in-depth analysis—how to perform different types of traffic analysis, cryptic analysis, strategic analysis. A lot of the texts we used were from the Soviet Union, and had been translated by the CIA.

I'm not especially proud of it now, but I should tell you that I graduated at the head of the class. We had a little ceremony inside a local movie theatre. I was called up with two guys from other classes and given special achievement certificates. We were given our choice of assignments anywhere in the world. I chose Istanbul. It seemed like the most far-out and exotic place available. After that I left San Angelo and went to Monterey to the Army's language school for a month and a half. I learned a bit of very technical Russian—basically how to recognize the language—and then to Fort Meade NSA headquarters for a couple of weeks indoctrination about Istanbul, our operation there at Karmasel, and the whole European intelligence community.

Q. When did you get to Istanbul?

A. That was January 1967.

Q. What did you do there?

A. I was assigned to be one of the flight analysts working primarily against the Soviet tactical Air Forces and Soviet long range Air Forces. I had about twenty-five morse operators who were listening to morse signals for me, and about five non-morse and voice operators. It was a pretty boring job for them. A morse operator, for instance, just sits there in front of a radio receiver with headphones, and a typewriter copying morse signals. They would "roll onto" their target, which means that they would go to the frequency that their target was using. The lis of likely frequencies and locations and the call signals that would be used—all this information was made available by the analyst as technical support to the operator. In return the operator would feed the copy to me; I'd perform analysis on it and correlate it with other intelligence collected there in Istanbul, and at the NSA installations in the rest of Europe.

Q. Where are the other NSA installations in Europe?

A. The major ones aside from Karmasel are in Berlinhof and Darmstadt, West Germany; Chicksands, England; Brindisi, Italy; and also at Trabesan and Crete. Some of these sites have the gigantic Feranine antennas. This is a circular antenna or ray, several football fields in diameter, and it's capable of picking up signals from 360 degrees. They're very sensitive. We can pick up hundreds of signals simultaneously. We pick up voices speaking over short-range radio communications thousands of miles away.

The whole Air Force part of NSA, the USAFSS units, is known as European Security region. It is headquartered at the I. G. Farben building in Berlin. The Army ASA has units attached to every Army installation in Europe. The Naval NSG has its sites aboard carriers in the 6th Fleet. But mainly it was us.

Q. What does this apparatus actually try to do?

A. Like I said, it copies—that is, intercepts for decoding

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and analysis—communications from every targeted country. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we know the whereabouts at any given time of all its aircraft, exclusive of small private planes, and its naval forces, including its missile-firing submarines. The fact is that we're able to break every code they've got, understand every type of communications equipment and enciphering device they've got. We know where their submarines are, what every one of their VIPS is doing, and generally their capabilities and the dispositions of all their forces. This information is constantly computer correlated, updated, and the operations go on twenty-four hours a day.

Q. Let's break it down a little. How about starting with the aircraft. How does NSA keep track of the Soviet air forces?

A. First, by copying Soviet Navair, which is their equivalent of the system our military has for keeping track of its own planes. And their Civair, like our civilian airports: we copy all of their air controllers' messages. So we have their planes under control. Then we copy their radar plotting of their own air defense radar, which is concerned with flights that come near their airspace and violate it. By this I mean the U.S. planes are constantly overflying their territory. Anyhow, all this data would be correlated with our own radar and with the air-to-ground traffic these planes transmitted and our operators picked up. We were able to locate them exactly even if they weren't on our radar through RDF—radio direction finding. We did this by instantaneously triangulating reception coming through these gigantic antennas I mentioned. As far as the Soviet aircraft are concerned, we not only know where they are; we know what their call signs are, what numbers are on the side of every one of their planes, and most of the time, even which pilots are flying which plane.

Q. You said that we overfly Soviet territory?

A. Routinely, as a matter of fact—over the Black Sea, down to the Baltic. Our Strategic Air Force flies the planes, and we support them. By that I mean that we watch them penetrate the Soviet airspace and then analyze the Soviet reaction—how everything from their air defense and tactical air force to the KGB reacts. It used to be that SAC flew B-52s. As a matter of fact, one of them crashed in the Trans-Caucasus area in 1968 and all the Americans on board were lost.

Q. Was it shot down?

A. That was never clear, but I don't believe so. The Soviets know what the missions of the SAC planes are. A lot of times they scramble up in their jets and fly wing-to-wing with our planes. I've seen pictures of that. Their pilots even communicate with ours. We've copied that.

Q. Do we still use U-2s for reconnaissance?

A. No, and SAC doesn't fly the B-52s anymore either. Now the plane they use is the SR-71. It has unbelievable speed and it can climb high enough to reach the edge of outer space. The first time I came across the SR-71 was when I was reading a report of Chinese reaction to its penetration of their airspace. The report said their air defense tracking had located the SR-71 flying a fairly constant pattern at a fairly reasonable altitude. They scrambled MIG-21s on it, and when they approached it, the radar pattern indicated that the SR-71 had just accelerated with incredible speed and rose to such a height that the MIG-21s just flew around looking at each other. Their air-to-ground communications indicated that the plane just disappeared in front of their eyes.

I might tell you this as a sort of footnote to your mentioning of the U-2. The intelligence community is filled with rumor. When I got to Turkey, I immediately ran into rumors that Gary Powers' plane had been sabotaged, not shot down. Once I asked someone who'd been in Istanbul for quite a while and he told me that it was reported in a unit history that this had happened. The history said it had been three Turks working for the Soviets and that they'd put a bomb on the plane. I didn't read this history myself, however.

Q. You have explained how we are able to monitor Soviet air traffic to the extent you've indicated, but it's hard to believe that we could know where all their missile submarines are at any given moment.

A. Maybe so, but that's the way it is. There are some basic ways in which we can keep track of them, for example, through the interpretation of their sub-to-base signals which they encode and transmit in bursts that last a fraction of a second. First we record it on giant tape drops several feet apart, where it is played back slowly so that we get the signal clearly. Then the signal will be modulated—that is, broken down so we can understand it. Then the codes are broken and we get the message, which often turns out to contain information allowing us to tell where they are.

Another way in which we keep track of these subs is much simpler. Often they'll surface someplace and send a weather message.

Q. But don't submarines go for long periods without communicating, maneuvering according to some pre-arranged schedule?

A. Actually, not very often. There are times during a war exercise or communications exercise when they might not transmit for a week or even longer. But we still keep track of them. We've discovered that they're like all Soviet ships in that they travel in patterns. By performing a very complicated, computerized pattern analysis, we are able to know where to look for a particular ship if it doesn't turn up for a while. The idea is that they revert from that pattern only in an extreme emergency situation; but during such a situation they'll have to be in communication at least once. We know how many subs they have. And in practical terms, when one of them is not located, NSA units tasked with submarine detection concentrate all their energies on finding it.

Q. How do you know this? Did you ever have responsibility for submarine detection?

A. No. My information comes from two sources. First, the fact that there were analysts sitting right next to me in Karmasel who were tasked on subs. Second, I read what we called TEXTA. TEXTA means "technical extracts of traffic." It is a computer-generated digest of intelligence collected from every communications facility in the world—how they communicate, what they transmit, and who to. It is the Bible of the SIGINT community. It is constantly updated, and one of an analyst's duties is reading it. You've got to understand that even though each analyst had his own area to handle, he also had to be familiar with other

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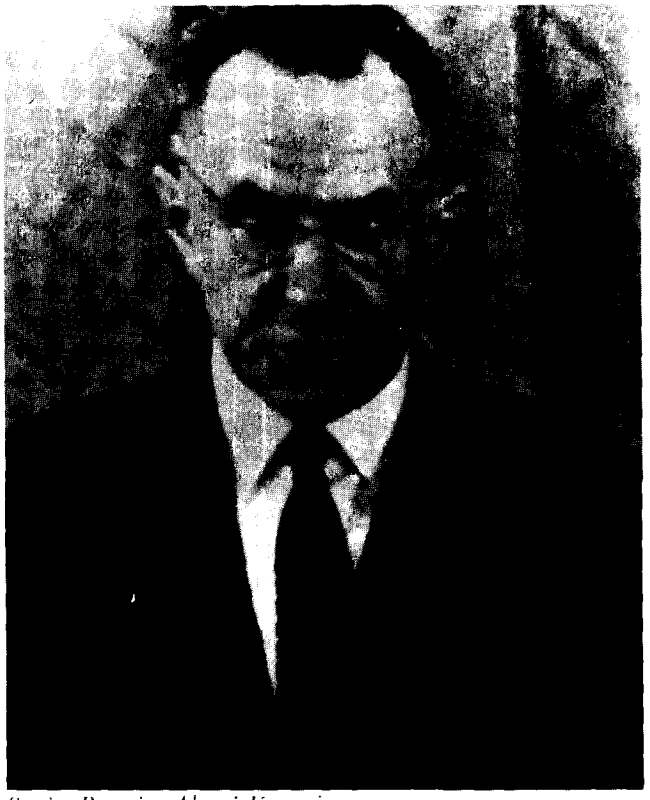

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin

problems. Quite often I would get—through my operators—base-to-base submarine traffic and I'd have to be able to identify it.

Q. The implications of what you're saying are very serious. In effect, it means that based on your knowledge there is no real "balance of terror" in the world. Theoretically, if we know where every Soviet missile installation, military aircraft and missile submarine is at any given moment, we are much closer than anyone realized to a first-strike capacity that would cripple their ability to respond.

A. Check.

Q. How many NSA people were there at Istanbul and in the rest of the installations in Europe?

A. About three thousand in our operation. It would be hard to even guess how many in the rest of Europe.

Q. What were the priorities for gathering information on Soviet operations?

A. First of all, NSA is interested in their long-range bombing forces. This includes their rocket forces, but mainly targets on their long-range bombers. This is because the feeling is that, if there is conflict between us and them, the bombers will be used first, as a way of taking a step short of all-out war. Second, and very close to the bombing capabilities, is the location of their missile submarines. Next would be tasking generated against the Soviet scrambler, which is their way of communicating for all of their services and facilities. After this would be their Cosmos program. After that things like tasking their KGB, their air controllers, their shipping, and all the rest of the things tend to be on the same priority.

Q. All this time, the Soviets must be doing intelligence against us too. What is its scope?

A. Actually, they don't get that much. They aren't able to break our advanced computer generated scrambler system, which accounts for most of the information we transmit. They do a lot of work to determine what our radar is like, and they try to find out things by working on some of the lower level codes used by countries like Germany and the Scandinavian countries we deal with. Their SIGINT operation is run by the KGB.

The key to it is that we have a ring of bases around them. They try to make up for the lack of bases by using trawlers for gathering data, but it's not the same. They're on the defensive.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. That they're on the defensive? Well, one of the things you discover pretty early is that the whole thing of containing the communist menace for expansion is nonsense. The entire Soviet outlook of their military and their intelligence was totally different from ours. They were totally geared up for defense and to meet some kind of attack. Other than strategic capacities relating to the ultimate nuclear balance, their air capabilities are solidly built around defending themselves from penetration. They've set up the "forward" area—our term for the so-called bloc countries of eastern Europe—less as a launching pad into Europe than as a buffer zone. The only Soviet forces there are air defense forces, security forces. Put it this way: their whole technology is not of an offensive nature, simply, don't have the kind of potential for a tactical offensive that we do. They have no attack carriers, for instance. Soviet ships are primarily oriented toward protection of their coasts. Actually they do have carriers of a sort, but they are helicopter anti-submarine carriers. Another thing: they have a lot of fighters, but hardly any fighter-bombers. They do have a large submarine force, but given the fact that they are completely ringed by the U.S., this too is really of a strategic nature.

Everything we did in Turkey was in direct support of some kind of military operation, usually something clandestine like overflights, infiltrations, penetrations. If all we were interested in was what they call an "invulnerable deterrent," we could easily get our intelligence via satellite. We don't need to have these gigantic sites in Europe and Asia for this.

Q. You mentioned a few minutes ago that one of NSA's main targets was the Soviet space program. What sort of material were you interested in?

A. Everything. Obviously, one of the things we wanted to know was how close they were to getting a space station up. But we knew everything that went on in their Cosmos program. For instance, before I had gotten to Turkey, one of their rockets had exploded on the launching pad and two of their cosmonauts were killed. One died while I was there too. It was Soyuz 1, I believe. He developed re-entry problems on his way back from orbit. They couldn't get the chute that slowed his craft down in re-entry to work. They knew what the problem was for about two hours before he died, and were fighting to correct it. It was all in Russian of course, but we taped it and listened to it a couple of times afterward. Kosygin called him personally. They had a video-phone conversation. Kosygin was crying. He told him he was a hero and that he had made the greatest achievement in Russian history, that they were proud and he'd be remembered. The guy's wife got on too. They talked for a

Wide World Photos

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while. He told her how to handle their affairs, and what to do with the kids. It was pretty awful. Towards the last few minutes, he began falling apart, saying, "I don't want to die, you've got to do something." Then there was just a scream as he died. I guess he was incinerated. The strange thing was that we were all pretty bummed out by the whole thing. In a lot of ways, having the sort of job we did humanizes the Russians. You study them so much and listen to them for so many hours that pretty soon you come to feel that you know more about them than about your own people.

Q. While you were monitoring the Soviet Union what sort of intelligence would have been considered very important or serious?

A. In a way you do this almost routinely. That is, there are certain times that the activities of a targeted entity are of such an important nature that a special type of report has to be sent out. It is called a CRITIC. This is sent around the world to a communications network called CRITICOM. The people in this network, besides NSA, are those in other intelligence or diplomatic capacities who might come across intelligence of such importance themselves that the President of the United States would need to be immediately notified. When a CRITIC goes out, one analyst working alone can't do it. There is just too great a volume of material to correlate.

Q. What would be an example of something sent out as a CRITIC?

A. Well, one of the strangest I ever read was sent out by our base at Crete. One of the analysts there sent a CRITIC because he had traced a Soviet bomber that landed in the middle of Lake Baikal. He knew it hadn't crashed from the type of communications he monitored, and he thought they had developed a new generation of bombers able to land on water. It turned out to be a bad mistake because he neglected to remember that about three-fourths of the year this lake is completely frozen over.

But actually this sort of thing is rare. Most CRITICs are based on good reasoning and data. You work around the clock, sometimes for 30 hours at a stretch putting things together. These are the times that the job stops being routine. I guess it's why they have a saying about the work in NSA: "Hours of boredom and seconds of terror."

Q. Did you ever issue a CRITIC?

A. Yes, several. During Czechoslovakia, for instance, when it became clear the Soviets were moving their troops up. We also issued a number of CRITICs during the Mideast War of 1967.

Q. Why?

A. Well, I was part of an analysis team that was predicting the war at least two months before it began. I guess we issued our first CRITIC on this in April. We did it on the basis of two sources. One, we and the Crete station had both been picking up data as early as early February that the Israelis had a massive build-up of arms, a massing of men and materiel, war exercises, increased level of penetration of Arab territory—just everything a country does to prepare for war. Two, there were indications that the Soviets were convinced there was going to be a war. We knew this from the traffic we had on diplomatic briefings sent down from Moscow to a commanding general of a particular region. And by April they had sent their VTA airborne, their version of Special Forces paratroopers, to Bulgaria. Normally, they're based in the Trans-Caucasus, and we knew from their contingency plans that Bulgaria was a launching point for the Middle East. Plus some of these forces were being given cram-courses in Israeli and Arabic languages.

Q. All this leaves the sequence of events that immediately preceded the Six Day War—the various countercharges, the UN pullout, the closing of the Straits—still pretty obscure. Did NSA evidence clear this up?

A. No. Not really, But one of the things that confused us at first was the fact that until the last days before the war the Arabs weren't doing anything to prepare. They weren't being trained how to scramble their air force. This is why there was such total chaos when the Israelis struck.

Q. How did the White House react to your reports about all this?

A. Well, in every message we sent out, we always put in our comments at the end—there's a place for this in the report form—and they'd say something like "Believe there is some preparation for unexpected Israeli attack. Request your comments." They didn't exactly ignore it. They'd send back, "Believe this deserves further analysis," which means something like, "We don't really believe you, but keep sending us information." Actually, we all got special citations when the whole thing was over.

Q. Why didn't they believe you?

A. I suppose because the Israelis were assuring them that they were not going to attack and Johnson was buying it.

Q. You remember about the "Liberty," the communications ship we sent in along the coast which was torpedoed by Israeli gunboats? The official word at the time was that the whole thing was a mistake. Johnson calls it a "heartbreaking episode" in The Vantage Point. *How does this square with your information?*

A. The whole idea of sending the "Liberty" in was that at that point the U.S. simply didn't know what was going on. We sent it in really close so that we could find out hard information about what the Israelis' intentions were. What it found out, among other things, was that Dayan's intentions were to push on to Damascus and to Cairo. The Israelis shot at the "Liberty," damaged it pretty badly and killed some of the crew, and told it to stay away. After this it got very tense. It became pretty clear that the White House had gotten caught with its pants down.

Q. What were the Russians doing?

A. The VTA airborne was loaded into planes. They took off from Bulgaria and their intention was clearly to make a troop drop on Israel. At this point it became pretty clear that we were approaching a situation where World War III could get touched off at any time. Johnson got on the hot line and told them that we were headed for a conflict if they didn't turn these planes around. They did.

Q. Was it just these airborne units that were on the move?

A. No. There was all kinds of other action too. Some of their naval forces had started to move, and there was increased activity in their long-range bombers.

Q. What about this idea that Dayan had decided to push

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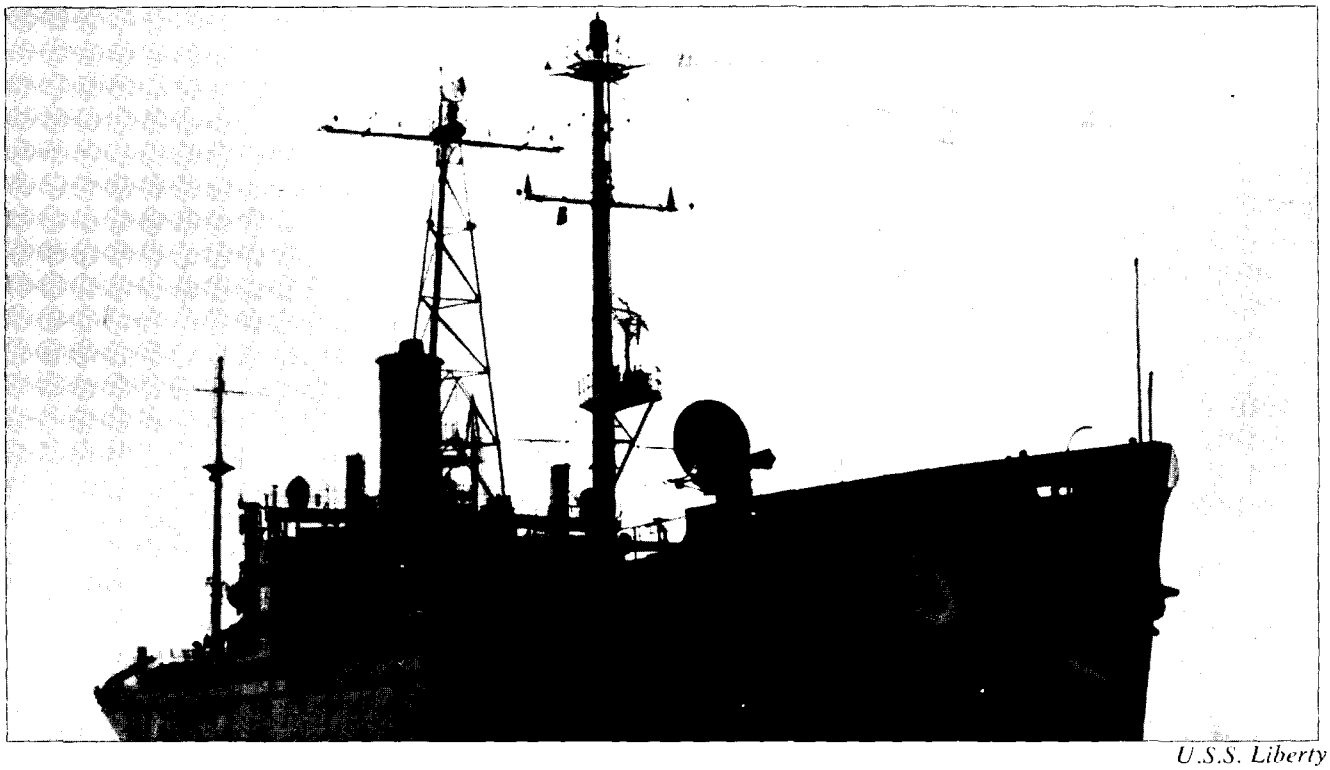

U.S.S. Liberty

on to the cities you mentioned. What happened there?

A. He was called back, partly because of U.S. pressure, partly by people in the Israeli political infrastructure. He was somewhat chastised and never given back total control of the Army.

Q. How do you know this?

A. Like I said earlier, NSA monitors every government. This includes Tel Aviv. All the diplomatic signals from the capital to the front and back again were intercepted. Also at this same time we were copying the French, who were very much involved on both sides playing a sort of diplomatic good offices between Cairo and Tel Aviv. As far as Dayan is concerned, the information came from informal notes from analysts at Crete who were closer to the situation than we were. Analysts send these informal notes from one station to another to keep each other informed about what is happening. One of the notes I got from Crete said Dayan had been called back from the field and reprimanded. Obviously, by this time the Israelis were getting heat from the U.S.

Q. What did the Russians do after the situation cooled down a bit?

A. Immediately after the war—well, not even afterwards, but towards the end—they began the most massive airlift in the history of the world to Cairo and Damascus. Supplies, food, and some medical equipment, but mostly arms and planes. They sent in MIG-21s fully assembled, fueled, and ready to fly in the bellies of their big 10-10s. At landing the doors would open, and the MIGs would roll out, ready to go. Also there was quite a bit of political maneuvering inside the Soviet Union right afterwards. I don't quite remember the details, but it was mainly in the military, not in the Politbureau.

Q. We routinely monitor the communications of allies like Israel?

A. Of course.

Q. What other sorts of things do we learn?

A. Practically everything. For instance, we know that the Israelis were preparing nuclear weapons at their development site at Dimona. Once the U.S. Ambassador to Israel visited there. They had been calling it a textile plant as a cover, and when he went there they presented him with a new suit. It was a charade, you know. They didn't have warheads deployed then, but they were close to it. I'm sure they must have a delivery system in operation by now. It was said that American scientific advisors were helping them in this development. I mean it was said on the intelligence grapevine. I didn't know it for a fact. But this grapevine is usually fairly accurate.

Q. All the material you've been discussing is classified?

A. Almost all of it.

Q. Who classified it?

A. I did. Analysts in NSA did. In the Agency, the lowest classification is CONFIDENTIAL. Anything not otherwise classified is CONFIDENTIAL. But SIGINT data is super-classified, meaning that only those in the SIGINT community have access to it, and then only on a "need-to-know" basis. A lot of the stuff I'd work with was SECRET and TOP SECRET, which is the highest classification of all. But after awhile it occurred to me that we classified our stuff only partly because of the enemy. It seemed like they were almost as interested in keeping things from the American public as from the Soviets. Hell, I'd give top secret classifications to weather reports we intercepted from Soviet subs. Certainly the Soviets knew that data. I remember when I was in school back at San Angelo one of the instructors gave us a big lecture about classifying material and he said that it was necessary because it would only confuse the American people to be let in on this data. He used those exact words. As a matter of fact, I used those

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words when I was training the people who worked under me.

Q. How did you relate to our allies in intelligence matters?

A. I'll have to digress for a moment to answer that. The SIGINT community was defined by a TOP SECRET treaty signed in 1947. It was called the UKUSA treaty. The National Security Agency signed for the U.S. and became what's called the First Party to the Treaty. Great Britain's GCHQ signed for them, the CBNRC for Canada, and DSD for Australia/New Zealand. They're all called Second Parties. In addition, several countries have signed on—ranging from West Germany to Japan—over the years as Third Parties. Among the First and Second Parties there is supposed to be a general agreement not to restrict data. Of course it doesn't work out this way in practice. The Third Party countries receive absolutely no material from us, while we get anything they have, although generally it's of pretty low quality. We also worked with so-called neutrals who weren't parties to the UKUSA treaty. They'd sell us intelligence. For instance, the Finns were selling us everything they could collect over radar on their Russian border.

As it works out, the treaty is a one-way street. We violate it even with our Second Party allies by monitoring their communications constantly.

Q. Do they know this?

A. Probably. In part, we're allowed to do it for COMSEC purposes under NATO. COMSEC, that's communications security. There's supposed to be a random checking of security procedures. But I know we also monitor their diplomatic stuff constantly. In England, for instance, our Chicksands installation monitors all their communications, and the NSA unit in our embassy in London monitors the lower-level stuff from Whitehall. Again, technology is the key. These allies can't maintain security even if they want to. They're all working with machines we gave them. There's no chance for them to be on par with us technologically.

There's the illusion of cooperation, though. We used to go to Frankfurt occasionally for briefings. The headquarters of NSA Europe, the European Security region, and several other departments in the SIGINT community are located there, inside the I.G. Farben building. We'd run into people from GCHQ there, and from the other countries. It was all fairly cordial. As a matter of a fact, I got to respect the English analysts very highly. They're real professionals in GCHQ, and some are master analysts. They'll stay on the job for twenty-five or thirty years and learn a lot. The CGG is also located in the I.G. Farben building. That's the West German COMINT agency. Most of them are ex-Nazis. We used to harass them by sieg heil-ing them whenever we saw them.

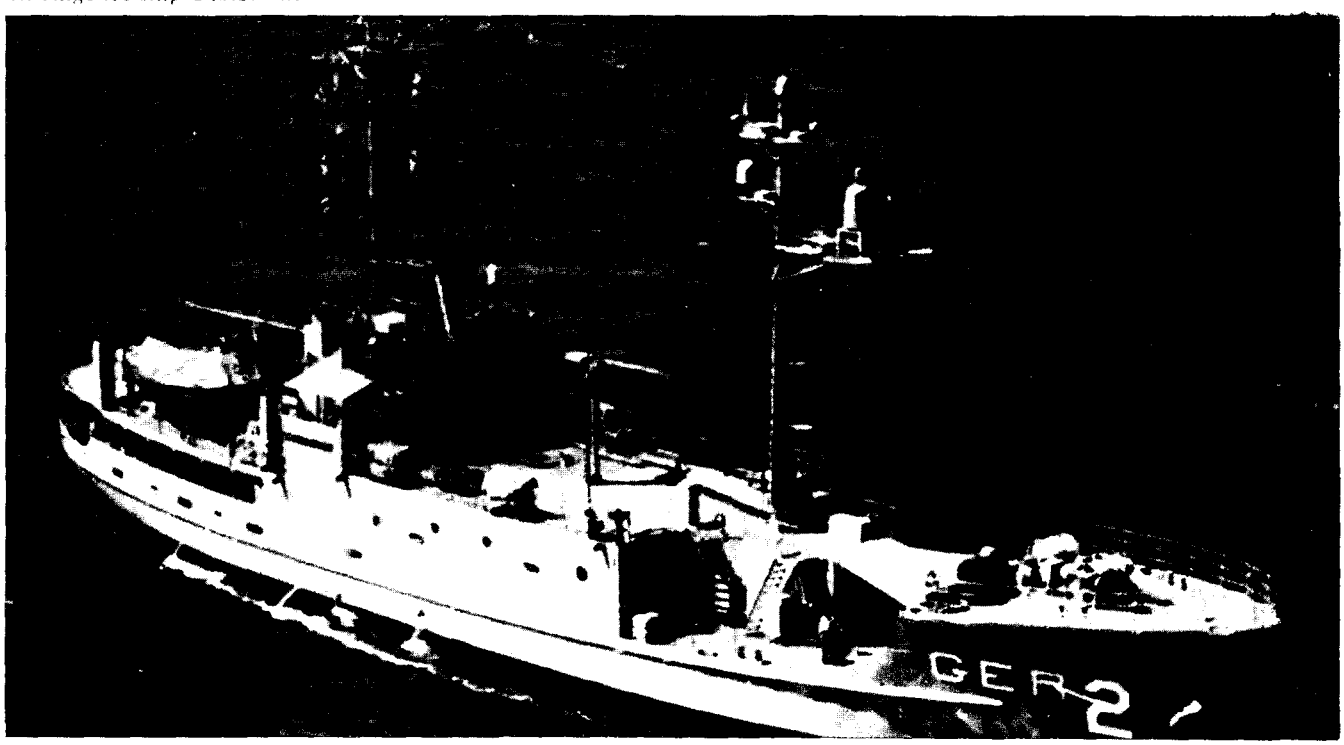
Once I briefed Hubert Humphrey at the I.G. Farben building. It was in 1967, when he was vice-president. The briefing concerned the Soviet tactical air force and what it was capable of doing. It was all quite routine. He asked a couple of pretty dumb questions that showed he didn't have the foggiest notion of what NSA was and what it did.

Q. But you said that you often sent reports directly to the White House.

A. Yes, I did. But the material that goes there is cleaned of any reference as to where the intelligence comes from. Every morning the President gets a daily intelligence summary compiled by the CIA. This information will probably contain a good deal from the NSA in it, but it won't say where it came from and the means used to collect it. That's how a man like the vice-president could be totally ignorant of the way intelligence is generated.

Q. So far we've been talking about various kinds of so-

Intelligence ship U.S.S. Pueblo



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phisticated electronic intelligence gathering. What about tapping of ground communications?

A. I'm not sure on the extent of this, but I know that the NSA mission in the Moscow embassy has done some tapping there. Of course all trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific telephone calls to or from the U.S. are tapped.

Every conversation—personal, commercial, whatever—is automatically intercepted and recorded on tapes. Most of these no one ever listens to and, after being held available for a few weeks, are erased. They'll run a random sort through all the tapes, listening to a certain number to determine if there is anything in them of interest to our government worth holding on to and transcribing. Also, certain telephone conversations are routinely listened to as soon as possible. These will be the ones that are made by people doing an inordinate amount of calling overseas, or are otherwise flagged for special interest.

Q. What about Africa? Does the NSA have installations there?

A. Yes, one in Ethiopia on the East Coast and in Morocco on the West Coast. These cover northern Africa, parts of the Mediterranean, and parts of the Mideast.

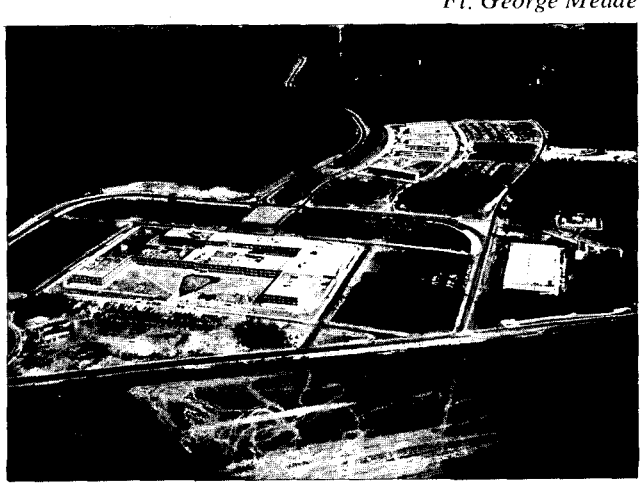
Q. Do they ever gather intelligence on African insurgents?

A. I went to Africa once for a vacation. I understood that there were DSUs, that's direct support units, working against Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola, those countries. These DSUs are in naval units off the coast. They are tasked with two problems: first, they copy the indigenous Portuguese forces; and second, they copy the liberation forces.

Q. Is the information used in any way against the guerrillas?

A. I don't know for sure. But I'd be surprised if it wasn't. There is information being gathered. This intelligence is fed back to NSA-Europe, of course. It has no strategic value to us, so it's passed on to NATO—one of our consumers. Portugal is part of NATO, so it gets the information. I know that U.S. naval units were DFing the liberation forces. That's direction finding. The way it worked was that the ship would get a signal, people on board would analyze it to see if it came from guerrillas, say, in Angola. Then they'd correlate with our installation in Ethiopia, which had also intercepted it, and pinpoint the source.

Ft. George Meade



Q. Did you ever have any doubts about what you were doing?

A. Not really, not at this time. It was a good job. I was just 21 years old; I had a lot of operators working under me; I got to travel a lot—to Frankfurt, for instance, at least twice a month for briefings. I was considered a sort of whiz kid, and had been since I'd been in school back in San Angelo. I guess you could say that I had internalized all the stuff about being a member of an elite that they had given us. I was advancing very rapidly, partly because of a turnover in personnel that happened to hit at the time I came to Turkey, and partly because I liked what I was doing and worked like crazy and always took more than other analysts. But, like I said earlier, I had developed a different attitude toward the Soviet Union. I didn't see them as an enemy or anything like that. Everyone I worked with felt pretty much the same. We were both protagonists in a big game—that's the view we had. We felt very superior to the CIA people we'd occasionally come in contact with. We had a lot of friction with them, and we guarded our information from them very carefully.

Q. Was there a lot of what you'd call esprit de corps *among the NSA people there?*

A. In some ways, yes; in other ways, no. Yes, in the sense that there were a lot who were like me—eating, drinking, sleeping NSA. The very fact that you have the highest security clearance there is makes you think a certain way. You're set off from the rest of humanity. Like one of the rules was—and this was first set out when we were back at San Angelo—that we couldn't have drugs like sodium pentothol used on us in medical emergencies, at least not in the way they're used on most people. You know, truth-type drugs. I remember once one of our analysts cracked up his car in Turkey and banged himself up pretty good. He was semi-conscious and in the hospital. They had one doctor and one nurse, both with security clearances, who tended him. And one of us was always in the room with him to make sure that while he was delirious he didn't talk too loud. Let me say again that all the material you deal with, the code words and all, becomes part of you. I'd find myself dreaming in code. And to this day when I hear certain TOP SECRET code words something in me snaps.

But in spite of all this, there's a lot of corruption too. Quite a few people in NSA are into illegal activities of one kind or another. It's taken to be one of the fringe benefits of the job. You know, enhancing your pocketbook. Practically everybody is into some kind of smuggling. I didn't see any heroin dealings or anything like that, like I later saw among CIA people when I got to Nam, but most of us, me included, did some kind of smuggling on the side. Everything from small-time black marketeering of cigarettes or currency all the way up to the transportation of vehicles, refrigerators, that sort of thing. One time in Europe I knew of a couple of people inside NSA who were stationed in Frankfurt and got involved in the white slave trade. Can you believe that? They were transporting women who'd been kidnapped from Europe to Mideast sheikdoms aboard security airplanes. It was perfect for any kind of activity of that kind. There's no customs or anything like that for NSA people. Myself, I was involved in

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Defense Minister Mos[illegible] Dayan

the transportation of money. A lot of us would pool our cash, buy up various restricted currencies on our travels, and then exchange it at a favorable rate. I'd make a couple of thousand dollars each time. It was a lark. My base pay was $600 a month, and looking back I figure that I made at least double that by what you'd call manipulating currency. It sounds pretty gross, I know, but the feeling was, "What the hell, nobody's getting hurt." It's hard for me to relate to the whole thing now. Looking back, it's like that was another person doing those things and feeling those feelings.

Q. All this sounds like a pretty good deal—the job, what you call the fringe benefits, and all that. Why did you go to Vietnam?

A. Well, I'd been in Istanbul for over two years, that's one thing. And second, well, Vietnam was the big thing that was happening. I wasn't for the war, exactly, but I wasn't against it either. A lot of people in Europe were going there, and I wanted to go to see what was happening. It doesn't sound like much of a reason now, but that was it.

Q. You volunteered?

A. Right. For Vietnam and for flying. They turned me down for both.

Q. Why?

A. Because of my classification. What I knew was too delicate to have me wandering around in a war zone. If I got captured, I'd know too much. That sort of thing. But I pulled some strings. I'd made what you'd call high-ranking friends, you know. Finally I got to go. First I had a long vacation—went to Paris for awhile and that sort of thing. Then I was sent back to the U.S. for schooling.

Q. What sort of schooling?

A. It was in Texas, near Brownsville. I learned a little Vietnamese and a lot about ARDF—that's airborne radio direction finding. It was totally different from what I'd been doing. It was totally practical. No more strategic stuff, just practical analysis. I had to shift my whole way of thinking around. I was going to be in these [illegible] airborne platforms they were called—locating the enemy's ground forces.

After this first phase in Texas, I went to a couple of Air Force bases here in California and learned how to jump out of planes, and then up to Washington state to survival school. This was three weeks and no fun at all. It was cold as hell. I guess so we could learn to survive in the jungle. Never did figure that one out. We did things like getting dropped up in the mountains in defense teams and learn E&E—that's the process of escape and evasion. You divide the three-man team up into certain functions—one guy scrounges for food, the other tries to learn the lay of the land, that sort of thing. We were out for two days with half a parachute and a knife between us. Strangely enough, we did manage to build a snare and catch a rabbit. We cooked it over a fire we built with some matches we'd smuggled. It was awful. We'd also smuggled five candy bars though and they were pretty good. Then we got captured by some soldiers wearing black pajamas. They put us in cells and tried to break us. It was a game, but they played it serious even though we didn't. It had its ludicrous moments. They played Joan Baez peacenik songs over the loudspeaker. This was supposed to make us think that the people back home didn't support us anymore and we'd better defect. We dug the music, of course. After this I shipped out.

Q. How long were you in Vietnam?

A. Thirteen months, from 1968 to 1969.

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Q. Where were you stationed?

A. In Pleiku most of the time.

Q. Is that where the major intelligence work is done?

A. No, there's a unit in Da Nang that does most of the longer-range work, and the major unit is at Phu Bai. It's the most secure base in Vietnam. An old French base, just below Hue and completely surrounded by a mine field. It's under attack right now. The people based there—a couple thousand of them—will probably be the last ones out of Vietnam. I don't know if you know of this or not, but the first American killed in Vietnam was at Phu Bai. He was in NSA, working on short-range direction finding out of an armored personnel carrier—you know, one of those vans with an antenna on top. It was in 1954. We were told this to build up our *esprit de corps.*

Q. So what kinds of things did you do there?

A. Like I said, radio direction finding is the big thing, the primary mission. There are several collection techniques used there. Almost all of them are involved with the airborne platforms I mentioned. They are C-47s, "gooney birds," with an E in front of the C-47 because they're involved in electronic warfare. The missions go by different names. Our program was Combat Cougar. We had two or three operators on board and an analyst, which was me. The plane was filled with electronic gear, radios and special DF-ing equipment, about $4 million worth of it, all computerized and very sophisticated. The technology seemed to turn over about every five months. As a sideline, I might tell you that an earlier version of this equipment was used in Bolivia, along with infrared detectors, to help track down Che Guevara.

Q. So what would be your specific mission?

A. Combat Cougar planes would take off and fly a particular orbit in a particular part of Indochina. We were primarily tasked for low-level information. That is, we'd be looking for enemy ground units fighting or about to be fighting. This was our A-1 priority. As soon as we located one of these units through our direction finding, we'd fix it. This fix would be triangulated with fixes made by other airborne platforms, a medium-range direction finding outfit on the ground, or even from ships. Then we'd send the fix to the DSUs on the ground – that's direct support units—at Phu Bai or Pleiku. They'd run it through their computers and call in B-52s or artillery strikes.

Q. How high did you fly?

A. It was supposed to be 8000 feet, but we couldn't get close enough, so we went down to 3000.

Q. You hear a lot about seismic and acoustic sensors and that sort of thing being used. How did this fit into what you were doing?

A. Not at all. They aren't that effective. A lot of them get damaged when they land; some of them start sending signals and get stuck; others are picked up by the Vietnamese and tampered with. Those that come through intact can't tell civilian from military movements. Whatever data is collected from sensors on the trail and at the DMZ is never acted on until correlated with our data.

Q. How did the NVA and NLF troops communicate their battle orders? They seem to take us by surprise, while from what you said earlier the Soviet Union can't.

A. That's because there are no grand battle orders except in a few cases. Almost everything is decided at a low level in the field. That's why most of our intelligence was directed toward these low-level communications I've been talking about. NSA operations in Vietnam are entirely tactical, supporting military operations. Even the long-range stuff, on North Vietnamese air defense and diplomacy, on shipping in and out of Haiphong—the data collected at Da Nang, Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines and somewhat in Thailand—is used in a tactical sense only. It's for our bombers going into North Vietnam. They aren't engaged in probing or testing the defenses of a targeted entity like in Europe. It's all geared around the location of enemy forces.

Q. What would be the effect if the U.S. had to vacate ground installations like the ones you've mentioned?

A. Well, we wouldn't have that good intelligence about the capabilities of the North Vietnamese to shoot our planes down. We wouldn't know what their radar was doing or could do, where their ground-to-air missile sites were, when their MIGs were going to scramble. We'd still be able to DF their troops in the field of course. That won't change until our air forces, including the airborne platforms I flew on, go out too.

Q. NVA and NLF troops must have some sort of counter-measures to use against operations like the one you were in. Otherwise they wouldn't be as effective as they are.

A. Basically you're right, although you shouldn't underestimate the kind of damage done by the strikes we called in as a result of our direction finding. To a certain extent, though, the Vietnamese have developed a way to counteract our techniques. Their headquarters in the North is known as MRTTH—Military Region Tri Tin Hue. It is located on the other side of the Valley, somewhere just into Laos. MRTTH has a vast complex of antennas strung all over the jungle. When they're transmitting orders, they play with the switchboard, and the signal goes out over a several-mile area from these different antennas. When you're up in one of these airborne platforms, the effect is like this: you get a signal and fix it. First it will be nine miles in one direction and then, say, twelve miles in another, and fifteen in another. We never found MRTTH. It's one of the high priorities.

Q. But you'd say that the sort of data you collected through DF-ing had some effect?

A. Right, generally. At least in locating field units. It also leads to some large actions. For instance, the first bombing that ever occurred from ARDF data occurred in 1968. There was an area about 19 kilometers southwest of Hue that we'd been flying over. Some of the communications we collected and a pattern analysis that was performed on it indicated that there were quite a few NVA or VC units concentrated in a small area, about a mile in diameter. General Abrams personally ordered the largest B-52 raid that had ever taken place in Vietnam at the time. There was one sortie an hour for thirty-six hours, thirty tons dropped by each sortie on the area. Afterwards it was just devastated. I mean it was wasted. It was a long time before they could even send helicopters into the area to evaluate the strike because of the stench of burning flesh. On the perimeter of the area there were Vietnamese that had died just from the concussion. The thing of it was,

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though, there wasn't any way to tell which of the dead were military and which were civilian. It was pretty notorious. Afterwards it was called Abrams Acres. It was one of the things that began to turn me off to the war.

Q. You've said that your A-1 priority was locating enemy units on the ground. What were the other targets?

A. Mainly supplies. We tried, not too successfully, to pinpoint their supply capabilities. All along the Trail the Vietnamese have these gigantic underground warehouses known as "bantrams," where either men or supplies are housed. The idea is that in case of an offensive like the one that's going on now, they don't have to go north for supplies. They've got them right there in these bantrams, enough to last for a long time at a fairly high level of military activity. They had about 11 bantrams when I was there. We knew where they were within twenty-five or thirty miles, but no closer. I remember the first Dewey Canyon invasion of Laos. I flew support for it. It happened because the 9th Marines went in there to locate a couple of bantrams. Their general was convinced he was going to end the war. It was a real *macho* trip. He got called back by the White House pretty quick, though, when his command got slaughtered.

Q. What about the idea of an invasion from the north. How does this equate with what you collected?

A. It doesn't. There's no invasion. The entire Vietnamese operation against Saigon and the U.S. is one unified military command throughout Indochina. Really, it's almost one country. They don't recognize borders: that's seen in their whole way of looking at things, their whole way of fighting.

Q. But you made a distinction between VC and NVA forces, didn't you?

A. There are forces we'd classify as VC and others as NVA, yes. But it was for identification, like the call signs on Soviet planes. The VC forces tended to merge, break apart, then regroup, often composed differently from what they were before. As far as the NVA is concerned, we'd use the same names they were called back home, like the 20th regiment. Hanoi controls infiltration, some troops and supplies coming down the Trail. But once they get to a certain area, MRTTH takes over. And practically speaking, MRTTH is controlled by the NLF-PRG.

Q. How did you know that?

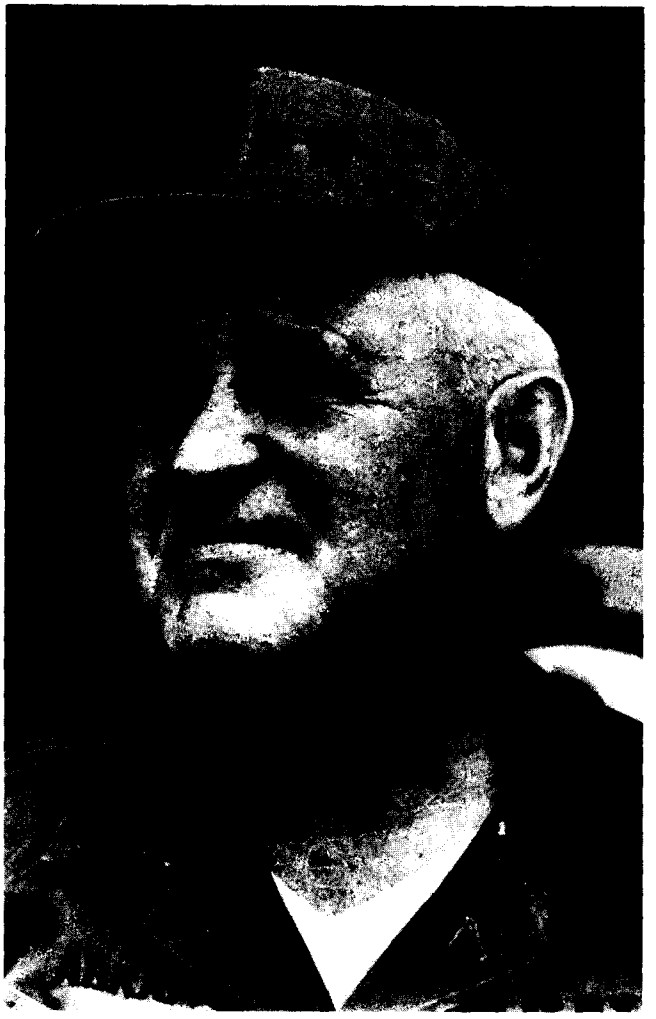
A. We broke their messages all the time. We knew the political infrastructure.

Q. You mean that your intelligence would have in its official report that this MRTTH base, which was on the other side of the Ashau Valley, was controlled by the NLF?

A. Of course. Hanoi didn't control that area operationally. MRTTH controls the whole DMZ area. Everything above Da Nang to Vinh. The people in control are in the NLF. MRTTH makes the decisions for its area. Put it this way: it is an autonomous political and military entity.

Q. What you're saying is that in order to gather intelligence and operate militarily, you go on the assumption that there is one enemy? That the NLF is not subordinate to the North Vietnamese Command?

A. Right. That's the way it is. This is one thing I wish we could bring out. Intelligence operates in a totally different way from politics. The intelligence community generally states things like they are. The political community interprets this information, changes it, deletes some facts and adds others. Take the CIA report that bombing in Vietnam never really worked. That was common knowledge over there. Our reports indicated it. Infiltration always continued at a steady rate. But of course nobody back at the military command or in Washington ever paid any attention.



General Creighton W. Abrams

Q. What were some of the other high intelligence priorities besides locating ground units, MRTTH, and the bantrams?

A. One of the strange ones came from intelligence reports we got from the field and copies from North Vietnam. These reports indicated that the NLF had two Americans fighting for them in the South. We did special tasking on that. We were on the lookout for ground messages containing any reference to these Americans. Never found them, though.

Q. When you were there in Vietnam did you get an idea of the scope of U.S. operations in Southeast Asia, or were you just involved with these airborne platforms exclusively?

A. I was pretty busy. But I took leaves, of course, and I saw a lot of things. One thing that never came out, for example, was that there was a small war in Thailand in 1969. Some of the Meo tribesmen were organized and attacked the Royal Thai troops for control of their own area.

Q. What happened to them?

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A. Well as you know, Thailand is pretty important to us. A stable Thailand, I mean. CAS-Vientiane and CAS-Bangkok were assigned to put down the uprisings.

Q. What does CAS mean?

A. That's the CIA's designation. Three of our NSA planes were taken to Udorn, where the CIA is based in Thailand, and flew direct support for CIA operations against the Meos. We located where they were through direction finding so the CIA planes could go in and bomb them.

Q. You mean CIA advisors in Thai Air Force planes?

A. No. The CIA's own planes. They had their own attack bombers, flown by their own spookies.

Q. Pilots?

A. Yes. The CIA has its own planes. Not Air America—those are commercial-type planes used just for logistics support. I'm talking about CIA military planes. They were unmarked attack bombers.

Q. What other covert CIA operations in the area did you run into?

A. From the reports I saw, I knew there were CIA people in Southern China, for instance, operating as advisors and commanders of Nationalist Chinese commando forces. It wasn't anything real big. They'd go in and burn some villages, and generally raise hell. The Chinese always called these "bandit raids."

Q. What would be the objectives of these raids besides harassment?

A. There's some intelligence probing. And quite a bit if it is for control of the opium trade over there. Nationalist Chinese regular officers are occasionally called in to lead these manuevers. For that matter, there are also CIA-run Nationalist Chinese forces that operate in Laos and even in North Vietnam.

Q. Did you ever meet any of these CIA people?

A. Sure. Like I've said, I flew support for their little war in Thailand. I remember one of the guys there in Vientiane that we were doing communications for, said he'd been into Southern China a couple of times.

Q. You got disillusioned with the whole Vietnam business?

A. Yes.

Q. Why?

A. Well, practically everybody hated it. Everybody except the lifers who were in the military before Vietnam. Even after that wasting of the area called Abrams Acres that I told you about before, everybody else was really sick about it, but these lifers kept talking about all the commies we had killed.

For me, part of it was when we crashed in our EC-47. We'd just taken off and were at about 300 feet and it just came down. We crash-landed in a river. We walked out of it, but I decided that there was no easy way to get me into an airplane after that. We got drunk that night, and afterwards I spent two weeks on leave in Bangkok. When I got back to Saigon I got another three days vacation in Na Trang. The whole thing was getting under my skin. I told them that I wasn't going to fly any more. And mainly they left me alone. They figured that I'd snap out of it. But finally they asked me what my reasons for refusing to fly were. I told them that it was crazy. I wasn't going to crash anymore, I wasn't going to get shot at anymore, I was afraid. I told the flight operations director that I wasn't going to do it anymore, I didn't care what was done to me. Strangely enough, they let me alone. They decided after a few days to make me Air Force liaison man up at Phu Bai. So I spent the last three months up there correlating data coming in from airborne platforms like the one I'd flown in and sending DSU reports to the B-52s. It happened all of a sudden, my feeling that the whole war was rotten. I remember that up at Phu Bai there were a couple of other analysts working with me. We never talked about it, but we all wound up sending the bombers to strange places—mountain tops, you know, where there weren't any people. We were just biding our time till we got out. We were ignoring priorities on our reports, that sort of thing.

It's strange. When I first got to Nam, everybody was still high about the war. But by the time I left at the end of 1969, morale had broken down all over the place. Pot had become a very big thing. We were even smoking it on board the EC-47s when we were supposed to be doing direction finding. And we were the cream of the military, remember.

I loved my work at first. It was very exciting—travelling in Europe, the Middle East, Africa; knowing all the secrets. It was my whole life, which probably explains why I was better than others at my job. But then I went to Nam, and it wasn't a big game we were playing with the Soviets anymore. It was killing people. My last three months in Nam were very traumatic. I couldn't go on, but I wasn't able to just quit. Not then. So I faked it. It was all I could do. Now I wish I had just quit. If I had stayed in Europe, I might still be in NSA, I might have re-enlisted. In a way, the war destroyed me.

Q. What happened when you mustered out?

A. Well, having the sort of credentials I had, I had my pick of a lot of jobs. Some ex-NSA people get jobs with private corporations. A lot of them run their own SIGINT operations. For instance, oil companies will have SIGINT against Middle East sheikdoms that have pretty primitive intelligence operations. But I didn't want to do this sort of thing. NSA offered me a nice civilian job. The CIA said they'd pay me a $10,000 bonus in two installments if I'd come to work with them—$5000 on signing up, and $5000 at the end of two years. They said they'd give me a GS-9 rating—that's about $10,000 a year—and promote me to GS-11 in a year. But I didn't want any of it.

Q. Why is it you wanted to tell all this?

A. It's hard for me to say. I haven't digested it all; even though I've been out almost two years now, I still feel as though I'm two people - the one who did all the things I've laid out and another, different person who can't quite understand why. But even being against the war, it's taken a long time for me to want to say these things. I couldn't have done it nine months ago, not even three months ago. Daniel Ellsberg's releasing the Pentagon Papers made me want to talk. It's a burden; in a way I just want to get rid of it. I don't want to get sentimental or corny about it, but I've made some friends who love the Indochinese people. This is my way of loving them too.

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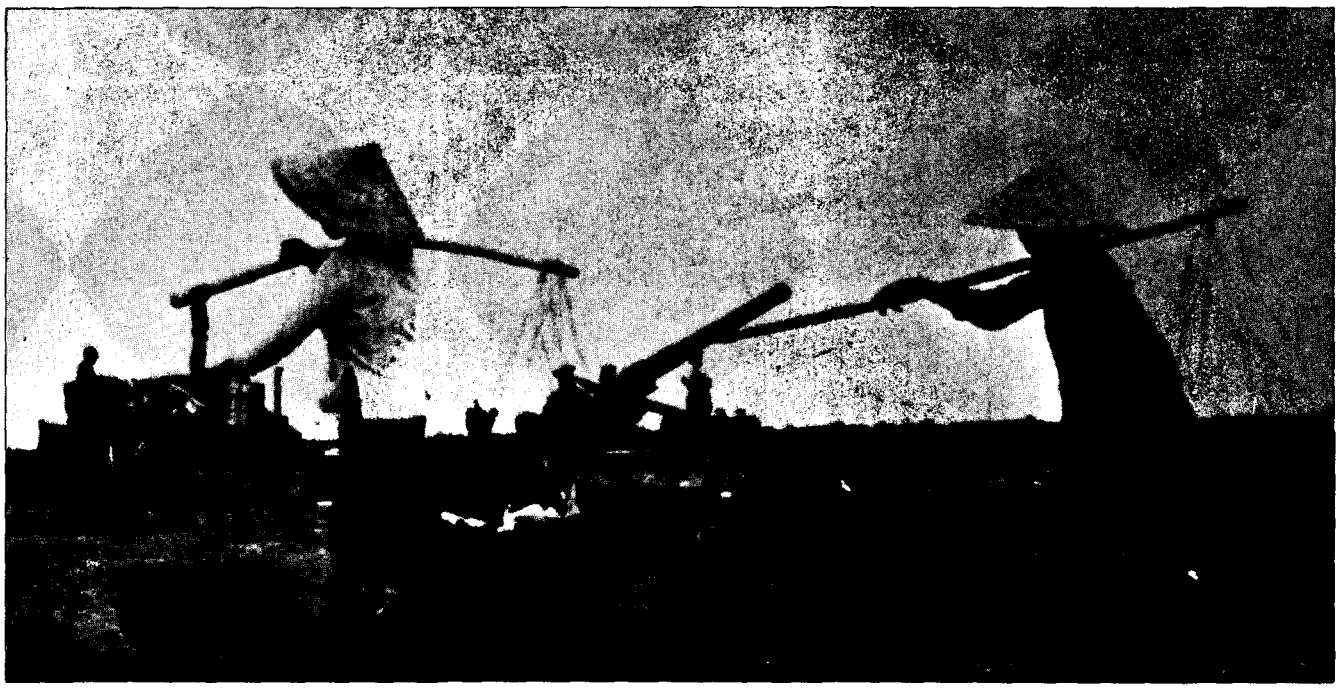

VIETNAM OFFENSIVE *(From Page 25)*

ese schoolteacher from the liberated zones near Da Nang whom I met in Paris immediately after she returned from the center of the offensive. She stressed the importance of the fact that the offensive has reversed the "forced urbanization" process designed by Samuel Huntington and other American officials to crowd refugees into more easily controllable urban areas and camps of South Vietnam. The offensive has been the high point of a process, she said, in which large numbers of the people are returning to the countryside where life—even under the bombing — is more liveable than in the American-controlled cities, with their disintegrating culture, their state of nearly total joblessness, and their oppressive conditions ranging from the draft to the penitentiaries. She said that the "absolute majority" of the people in the newly liberated areas are staying in the countryside, and that thousands of others are joining them from the cities and from the variety of refugee camps previously controlled by the Americans. As this fundamental process of consolidation rolls on, the guerrillas are faced not only with the military problems of continuing the offensive, but the general political problem of supporting the growth of the liberated areas of the countryside. What appears as a "lull," therefore, can be a most important consolidation of power before future military thrusts.

ANOTHER AMERICAN MYTH CONVENIENT for publicity value in the United States is that the objective of the offensive is to "take cities." This stems also from Western military theory which considers industrialized urban areas to be the central theaters in which wars are finally decided. How can the same American government which was unable to predict the coming of the offensive now be reliably expected to explain its objectives? Since the offensive began, American officials have explained to the American people that its objectives are variously to "cut the country in two," "march from An Loc to Saigon," "prepare to overthrow the government either on Ho Chi Minh's birthday, May Day, or the anniversary of Dien Bien Phu,"all of which now are past, and, above all, the American people are told that the objective of the offensive is to seize the cities, because, according to Ambassador Porter, the enemy is embarrassed by not being able to fly its flag over a single provincial capital.

The psychological war (psywar) aspect of this American claim is revealed by a dispatch from Washington about the coming battle of Hue, in the *L.A. Times* of May 24: "Officials acknowledged Tuesday that the Administration, *feeling increasingly that Hue can be held, has emphasized the growing importance of the outcome.*" The image of cities falling was of course reinforced by the collapse of the defenses at Quang Tri. But it is important to recall that Quang Tri was not "taken" by the liberation forces. Rather, its defending army disintegrated and retreated at the moment of engagement. A revolutionary administration was then set up in the city and, we were told, thousands of people evacuated to the countryside.

The danger of fighting for cities, from a guerrilla standpoint, is evident in the fact that all such cities are bombed mercilessly by B-52 raids, and Indochina is replete with examples of hamlets, villages and cities which the air force has bombed in order to "save." For a guerrilla force to seize and administer a heavily populated city would be quite possibly a suicidal exposure to American air power. Therefore what has happened in Quang Tri, as in the cities of North Vietnam is that a skeletal structure of organization remains, while large numbers of people—especially the most vulnerable, children and the elderly—are being evacuated to distant areas. In fact, Quang Tri province becomes similar in many respects to provinces of North Vietnam which have long been bombed, but in which life has gone on, agriculture has continued, even small-scale factory production has been maintained, education and public health services have been developed to a level sufficient to keep the population in a state of well

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being, trucks, tanks and large anti-aircraft guns have been maintained in operation despite all attempts by the air force to obliterate them.

It is not that cities are unimportant to the offensive. In a very short period of time they may in fact become centers of political uprisings, centers of armed struggle. The point is that the American public should not be fooled by American planners' definitions of the objectives of the other side. These objectives are not the control of urban real estate, although the objectives are in a certain sense territorial—not in the sense that this or that city must be controlled, but in the sense that the territory now being wrested from Saigon control may well remain completely under PRG control from this time forward and not go backward into the stage of "pacification," with daytime occupation by Saigon and nighttime occupation by the guerrillas. But this is a territorial concept that allows for the dispersal, evacuation and protection of hundreds of thousands of people, not a territorial perspective that involves their being grouped in concentrated population centers and exposed to American bombs.

If anything demonstrates the cynicism of the American effort to define the offensive as being aimed at cities, it is not merely the U.S. bombing of cities that inevitably follows, but the fact, pointed out by the PRG, that important parts of the urban areas of South Vietnam evacuated by the Americans are being mined in such a way that they can be blown up at a great distance by the Americans who have retreated to safer enclaves. This is true, the PRG told me, particularly in urban areas where there has been a hasty retreat leaving behind large numbers of political prisoners in concentration camps, who would be immediate volunteers for the liberation armed forces upon breaking out of prison. But the PRG pointed out that the prison walls and perimeters are mined electronically so as to threaten the immediate wholesale destruction of the prisoners if the PRG forces enter the city. Moreover, they said groups of captured guerrillas are now being held behind concertina wire in front of police stations and military outposts in numerous district capitals and other towns as, quite literally, a bullet shield of hostages against the entering guerrillas.

The purpose of the offensive, in other words, has nothing to do with the capture of a specific town, the holding of a specific piece of real estate. It has to do with the strategic defeat of the Vietnamization program, with the creation of fixed points of battle at which the ARVN troops can be proven to be unwilling to fight against other Vietnamese, and the creation of a broader, sweeping front of uprisings that completely liberate large new areas from Saigon control. Where the offensive ends is difficult to visualize, but the possibilities are all pessimistic from an American viewpoint. Having experienced the complete destruction of the pacification program, for example, will American officials easily contemplate pouring billions of dollars once again into its reconstruction when they must know that it can be torn apart year after year? Where will American officials find new replacements for the 3rd and 22nd divisions of the ARVN, and the rest of the divisions, all of which have taken serious casualties after three months of the offensive? Do American officials seriously entertain the return of tens of thousands of American troops to re-Americanize the war after the failure of Vietnamization? These are questions which even the most violent hawk must consider with fear and helplessness.

Inside Saigon the effects of the offensive are devastating as well, to those in the Thieu Administration and the various groups of businessmen – primarily importers – who still cling to the hope of American support. With American troops on their way out of South Vietnam and with the army of South Vietnam decimated on the battlefield, the pressure for accommodation with the PRG in the future becomes irreversible. The pressure lies entirely in the direction of accommodation, rather than clinging to hopes for continued American protection. From the soldier on the battlefield to the banker in the Saigon Chamber of Commerce, one question becomes overwhelming. If the United States Vietnamization program is defeated, what will be one's future in South Vietnam? The question has really only one answer. One has a future if one breaks away from the American policy and swiftly integrates into the forces of the winning side, who will remain in South Vietnam in the future. Of crucial significance, we were told, is the fact that the urban opposition has broadened since 1968 beyond the students and Buddhists. For several days in early May between 25 to 40,000 people demonstrated in Da Nang against U.S.-Saigon control. Thieu's response to this threat in the cities was to arrest more than 5000 people. With Thieu conscripting half the male population, running one-man elections, with inflation and unemployment incredibly high, even the national bourgeoisie has been alienated.

The PRG thus reaps tremendous political advantage from the failure of Vietnamization. It can even be said that the PRG is now implementing the seven point program in some respects, pending its final ratification at a future negotiating table. Two examples make this clear. The first is that of the ARVN regimental commander who defected in early April with all his men to the side of the PRG in Quang Tri province, and broadcast an appeal over liberation radio for more defectors. We were told by the PRG in Paris that this individual commander and his entire military unit were incorporated intact into the liberation armed forces and now serve not only in a military capacity but in an administrative capacity in Quang Tri province as part of the new administration, with no loss in rank. This is a demonstration of the principle of coalition, or what the PRG Paris negotiators describe as a three-segment government of national reconciliation (the PRG, other nationalist groupings, and elements of the Thieu administration, minus Thieu). The power of its example on the battlefield itself during the offensive can only be compelling on all other units of the Saigon army and politicians within Saigon.

A second example of the implementation of the seven points takes place in Paris on a day-to-day basis among the Vietnamese exile community. There are five or six small to large sized Vietnamese groups in Paris today besides the parties at the Paris Peace Talks. These include the Union of Vietnamese Residents in France (UVF), which directly supports the PRG, and several other religious and intellectual groups which support the seven

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points. We were told by one Vietnamese organizer in the community that the various Vietnamese groups are learning in practice, in concrete experience, at the present time, how to work on a coalition basis and a trust basis with the PRG, and that this experience will be carried back into Saigon in the future as part of the three segment administration of national harmony. In other words, Vietnamese groups who were once considered part of a "third force," an alternative to "communism" and "puppet status," groups which to this day are courted by men like Kissinger, have now in large part reconciled their political views in accordance with what they consider to be the future reality of South Vietnam. They have become already integrated, in some sense, in both Paris and Saigon, with the PRG.

When will the current offensive end? It would be valuable to recall the Tet offensive of 1968 in trying to understand the short- and long-term effects of the offensive of the spring of 1972. In some ways the offensives are different, reflecting the favorable development of forces on the side of the guerrillas. The Tet offensive was composed of shock attacks on hundreds of district capitals and even on Saigon itself, to demonstrate the country-wide presence of the National Liberation Front at a time when Washington was claiming the war could very shortly be won. The 1972 offensive definitely seeks the complete liberation of the areas in which the uprisings are taking place. But the Tet offensive devastated American hopes in Vietnam as surely as the 1972 offensive is devastating the hope of Vietnamization. American officials in 1968 told the public that Tet represented only a "psychological victory" for the guerrillas, but they were supposed to have suffered a severe "military defeat" because of the supposed loss of tens of thousands of their rank and file. That too was supposedly a last gasp. In fact, the Pentagon Papers reveal that General Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, considered military defeat to have been "a very near thing" for the U.S. at the time. It was the American officials, not the Vietnamese, who were seeking to win in the arena of American public opinion what they were losing on the battlefield of South Vietnam. The immediate repercussions of their defeat in 1968 were not apparent, but within several months, the Pentagon Papers reveal, the process of withdrawing American combat troops had begun. A proposal by Westmoreland for 200,000 more troops had been rejected. Any American ambition to impose a military victory on Vietnam by American troops had been given up. Similarly today, one has to focus on the fact that repercussions of the defeat of the ARVN troops and the shattering of the pacification programs throughout South Vietnam will not be felt as deeply in the days they occur as they will in the days ahead. The same applies to the offensive as a whole. An offensive can end with a climactic victory (Dien Bien Phu) or in a delayed fashion, like a person collapsing from an internal hemorrhage several days after a body blow.

The 1972 offensive has not, of course, occurred without the liberation forces paying a terrible price in suffering and in damage to the countryside, primarily as a result of American naval shelling and aerial attacks. While it is crucial that Americans not be mesmerized in awe and fear at the power of American technology, it is also important that we not romanticize the revolutionary offensive without paying careful attention to the terrible losses, the terrible suffering, which the American government imposes as a cost on the guerrillas. Otherwise we would be trapped into romanticizing away the responsibility that Americans could still exercise to force the bombing and the war itself to an end before more blood is shed in Indochina. It is a continually amazing fact that public opinion, if prepared in stages, can accept American military escalation to levels which will be horrifying and incomprehensible for future generations in this country.

Will we ever have an adequate explanation to the question of how Americans can be concerned about the

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well-being of their individual prisoners of war, are tormented by the sight of a cat or dog being killed in the street, but still remain relatively unmoved while considering a B-52 mission which drops 60,000 pounds of explosives from a level of 30,000 feet, in a saturation pattern that makes no distinction between animals and humans, streets and houses, huts and factories, military and non-military personnel?

The effects of the bombing on the Vietnamese were approvingly described by a senior American official in the May 15 *Wall Street Journal,* in this vivid way: *"Heads and arms and legs and blood and guts and zombies walking around concussed out of their minds."* When B-52s saturation-bombed Haiphong City in mid-April, they came in a "box" pattern of threes, creating a rectangle of destruction 1¼ miles long and more than half a mile wide in which 90 tons of bombs fell. B-52s were never designed for precision bombing; they were designed for nuclear or saturation bombing of countries like the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the raids on Haiphong were described as being aimed at "military targets" and "far away from population centers."

Nixon's escalations of the bombing and shelling were further proof of the complete collapse of Vietnamization. At the end of the third month of the offensive, while still talking about troop withdrawals, he has returned the American personnel level to the 1971 figure of 150,000 in the war zone, primarily operating out of Thailand and seven aircraft carriers in the South China Sea. He has planned to double the projected annual cost of the war (*N.Y. Times*, June 6, 1972). Aircraft carriers in the South China sea are now at twice the number they were during the Johnson period. The 250 B-52s now in operation represent over half the B-52 fleet and are more than double the number used during the 1965-1968 phase of the air war.

Some of the Vietnamese to whom we talked believed that further escalation was likely. They reminded us constantly that President Ho Chi Minh said that, before the war would end, Hanoi and Haiphong might well be destroyed. One of them put the situation this way: "The closer we come to final victory, the greater will be our suffering." There was particular concern expressed by not only the Vietnamese, but European correspondents, about the possible destruction of the dike system of North Vietnam between July and August—the rainy season of the year. This could result in the flooding of an area in which millions of peasants live—the delta of the Red River of North Vietnam.

THE VIETNAMESE RESPONSE TO ALL of these threats continues to be as calm and determined as when I first journeyed to North Vietnam during the bombing in 1965 and 1966. They have, in their view, taken every precaution to minimize casualties, to reinforce their dikes, to strengthen their anti-aircraft system, to mobilize the support of other countries and world opinion against escalation, and they are ready, in their words, to suffer any new levels of escalation imposed by the United States. However they have a different evaluation of the bombing than most Americans do. They regard each and every escalation of the bombing, especially in the North, as a desperate American reaction to progress made by the liberation forces in the South, unlike American anti-war demonstrators who regard each escalation of the bombing as new proof of the Nixon administration's unwillingness to listen to any protest. What reinforces a sense of powerlessness against our own government in America reinforces a sense of victory and initiative on the battlefield for the Vietnamese. They say that no escalation of any kind can alter the fundamental collapse of the Vietnamization program.

Like the rest of the escalation, the mining of Haiphong Harbor in the Vietnamese view is merely an irritant which in no way constitutes a threat to their ability to supply the current offensive, nor their ability to continue their struggle in the future. They remind their visitors that Nixon's entire military doctrine has been directed at somehow sealing off South Vietnam and that at every stage that doctrine has failed. Its failure can be no more clearly shown than in the fact of the present offensive. They ask, if the air force with all its sophisticated laser bombs could not succeed in closing off the relatively narrow Ho Chi Minh Trail, how can the same air force close off the long borders and long coastlines which are the natural characteristics of Vietnam? While stressing that these long borders and coasts will be used for the purpose of maintaining contact and aid from other countries, the Vietnamese have by no means given up on the clearing up of Haiphong Harbor itself. They say calmly that they are removing the mines as rapidly as the Navy introduces them, and that they will continue to do so. For those so awed by technology as to find this unbelievable, it would be well to first recall that Lyndon Johnson mined many of the major rivers and waterways of North Vietnam in 1967 and then to ask what became of those mines. Visitors to North Vietnam in those years recall those mines being detonated by Vietnamese crews as rapidly as one supposes they are being detonated in Haiphong today. The Vietnamese, after all, have been warned for nearly a decade that Haiphong Harbor is on the target list and have been given first-hand experience by Lyndon Johnson in removing mines, so it should not be hard to believe that they are by now adept at anti-mining technology. They themselves say that they have experience with everything from sophisticated technology to more "primitive" methods, which suggest that light bamboo crafts, for example, can be used to skim the surface of a mined area carrying a small crew of divers without setting off the mines which depend on acoustic vibrations or on the shearing of water by the hulls of large ocean-going vessels.

While remaining on guard against potential military escalation, the Vietnamese in Paris also expect a fast diplomatic escalation by the Americans before the November elections — what they call a carefully disguised "peace maneuver" on the part of Nixon designed to win re-election and guarantee an opportunity for four more years of war with Vietnam. One Vietnamese sarcastically referred to Kissinger's dream of a potential "two segment government" in Saigon, one which would be composed of

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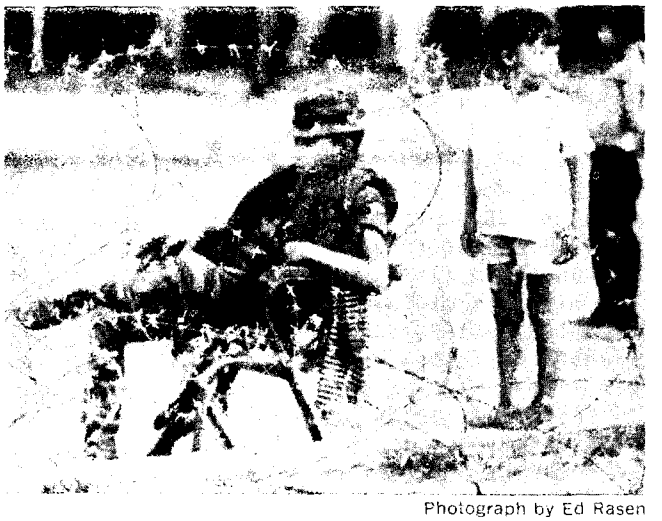
elements of the Thieu administration plus some fresh faces from either Paris or Saigon, as part of an effort to diplomatically isolate the PRG. The creation of this "two segment" administration in Saigon would be coupled, perhaps, with a new offer for a battlefield cease fire where the U.S. forces are being defeated and at a disadvantage, and the proposal would offer to "set a date" similar to the May 8 proposal for a four-month period of U.S. troop withdrawal. The Vietnamese see this as an electoral strategy aimed at the U.S. voting population, designed to appear to be the "most reasonable" offer that an American President could make in the midst of a war, and which would be an attempt to obtain a cease fire and to obtain the release of American prisoners before the election without resolving the question of the structure of the coalition in Saigon. Then, after re-election, the South Vietnam situation could break down and could allow Nixon to resume aerial war for another extended period. This Vietnamese view of Nixon's plan is not mere speculation, because the transcripts of the secret talks between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, released by the Vietnamese in Paris after Nixon's unilateral revelation of these talks in February, contain passages in which it is clear that Kissinger is already shopping in Paris and other cities of the world for Vietnamese who could be added to a future cabinet.

The Vietnamese also are firm in stressing that Nixon's summit trips to Peking and Moscow have been a complete failure from the point of view of solving the Vietnam problem. They maintain that their aid agreements with China and the Soviet Union remain intact and that they already have sufficient supplies to continue their push on the battlefield indefinitely. They portray the summit trips as a kind of vastly sophisticated but defensive strategy on the part of a Nixon administration which no longer has the power to continue to ignore or "contain" communist revolutions and national independence movements. In this view, the Nixon administration has shifted from containment to attempts to stir up conflicts and division within the Socialist camp, creating weakness among its adversaries as a counterweight for the decline of America's own strength. At one point, I volunteered the view that, from an American standpoint, the summit trips had shored up Nixon's credibility in some respects; that the summit trips had at least temporarily given the American people the feeling that the U.S. government is not isolated and condemned as a result of the Vietnam war; that the dangers of Vietnam escalating into World War III could not be so great if our President was received in Peking and Moscow with handshakes; and that it was noticeable that the numerous growing and militant demonstrations occurring in April and May in the United States tapered off in the spirit of relief which accompanied the holding of the Moscow summit in spite of the mining of Haiphong Harbor. A Vietnamese official with whom we spoke granted the fact that a "certain confusion" could have been created by the summits not only in America but "in other quarters of the world," and that this confusion was deliberately inspired by Kissinger's remarks in Moscow and Nixon's remarks in Washington to the effect that new secret discussions on Vietnam had taken place. But the



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Vietnamese pointed out that this confusion would dissipate in the wake of the summits when it became clear that a peace settlement has not been realized in Vietnam and that the only road to a settlement lies through Paris. In a fundamental rebuke to Kissinger's great power politics, a PRG spokesman told us: "We are saying that big powers cannot force or impose their desires upon the small nations, because this is the era when small nations are becoming able to solve their own problems, able to rely on their own strength."

THE PERSPECTIVE INTO WHICH the offensive and the escalation fit is the perspective of a total collapse of U.S. strategy in Vietnam at all levels. We now know that the Nixon administration had entered its term in office with no serious hopes that Vietnamization by itself could work. Instead, the secret Nixon strategy consisted of other plans. Vietnamization was directed as much at dissipating protests in America as at shoring up the Saigon government. Aerial bombardment by the U.S. Air Force was to be the real means of staving off the collapse in Saigon. In the meantime, secret talks would be engaged in by Kissinger to sound out the North Vietnamese on the possibilities of arranging a settlement at any point when American military pressure had become too severe. Furthermore, the mining of Haiphong Harbor reminds us that the ultimate hope of the United States government is to force a settlement on North Vietnam through pressure directed against its "great power" allies. That this entire strategy, from Vietnamization to the mining of Haiphong, has not only failed to bring the desired results but has failed to stop the offensive in South Vietnam, should illustrate the complete bankruptcy of U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia. One further point about the mining of Haiphong emphasizes that bankruptcy. Certain unimpeachable sources can be expected soon to reveal *that the Nixon administration in 1969 advised the Soviet Union that Haiphong would be mined in 1972,* thus facing the Soviets with a supposed threat of an unacceptable military confrontation or an embarrassing backdown. Faced with this problem, it was supposed the Soviet Union would urge upon its allies a settlement short of their objectives. Whether the Soviet Union urged such a settlement or not is irrelevant to the main point, which is that the Nixon administration and all American governments since 1941 have always viewed the people of South Vietnam as pawns in a larger game.

But there is a fundamental level on which the U.S. officials believe their own propaganda, a level that goes to the depths of imperialism's soul, imperialism's fantasy, imperialism's fear. What would it take for an American official to really believe that all his guns, bombs and shells, all his billions with which to buy and sell other nations, were ineffective against the revolutionary spirit of a small, yellow peasant nation? Every assumption of superiority made by Imperialist Man would be shaken to its foundation, and every assumption about how to maintain a global empire as well.

It is no secret in Paris that U.S. negotiators have a paranoid reaction to the PRG representatives. The PRG actually represents the "faceless Vietcong" who are tearing to pieces everything constructed by the Americans for a decade in South Vietnam. How can these Vietnamese, who in Kissinger's world view are on the "periphery" of great power affairs, be at the same time so impossible to defeat? The answers often involve pure racial trivializations about the "inscrutable Oriental," the willingness of Asians to sacrifice human life, and so on. These attitudes go back a generation: to Lyndon Johnson warning in 1948 against being blackmailed by "any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife"; to Cardinal Spellman raving in 1954 about the "godless goons" of atheistic communism; to *Time* magazine in 1950 describing Ho Chi Minh as a "mongoloid Trotskyite," all the way down to the present period of the offensive. David Brinkley in May called the other side "crazy," and claimed they want South Vietnam delivered to Hanoi "like an egg roll on a plate." Eric Sevareid called Vietnam a little "scallop" on the Asian subcontinent. Even observers sympathetic to the Vietnamese, like the *Times'* Anthony Lewis who journeyed to Hanoi during the offensive, explain the Vietnamese spirit as "fanaticism." From racial views such as these grow grand strategic designs like Kissinger's, in which the Vietnamese are pictured as "clients" of great powers—the NLF the creature of Hanoi, Hanoi the creature of Peking (and more recently, Moscow).

But added to this is a profound Western puzzlement, a nagging confusion about the possibilities of human life. In 1964, Maxwell Taylor wrote that "the ability of the Viet Cong continuously to rebuild their units and make good their losses is one of *the mysteries of this guerrilla war.*" During this offensive the *Wall Street Journal* (May 15) asked:

> What combination of discipline, idealism and disregard for life keeps North Vietnamese units assaulting in the face of B-52 bombing raids? No analyst here has ever come up with a full explanation.

The answer will not be found in a computer, nor by cost-accounting techniques. The beginnings of the answer will be found when Americans of all kinds have enough solidarity with Vietnam to learn from the Vietnamese and listen to what they say. The struggle against imperialism is partly a struggle to see the Vietnamese as human beings. When that is done, we will conclude with the Cuban government that they are "legendary." Legendary yes, immortal or mysterious, no. The Vietnamese mean it when they say, if you were in our position you would have to do the same as we.

"My Lai is now liberated": that sentence, included in a long conversation about the offensive, remains and increases in power as I re-read it in my notes. My Lai: for us, the most focused and unforgettable of all the atrocities of this war. "My Lai is liberated." Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Dresden, Guernica, Lidice: all these and scores of other names bring up from the subconscious images of scorched earth and flesh and ruins. But this one is different: alongside the feeling of pain comes the feeling of freedom. "As we approach the time of total victory, our sufferings will increase." Vietnam, country of countless My Lais will be liberated. May we speed the time.

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What's Left of the Black Left, Part II

"If there is anything less devoutly to be wished than being killed by crackers vamping on a black community aroused by discordant political principles, it is being killed by another desperate black man in a fratricidal squabble deriving from those principles. This, in black terms, is the difference between dying easily and dying hard."

IN A KEY 1968 ESSAY Eldridge Cleaver wrote: "The dream is to bring Robert Williams home and guarantee him safe conduct until Williams can stand in the center of Harlem and deliver a speech and the black people prevent the troops of the occupying army from coming in and taking him prisoner. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, for instance, must be able to speak before an audience of assembled black people without fear of arrest by the Gestapo of the Mother Country."

Robert Williams returned home the following year with a glaring absence of either fanfare or discernible political impact. Welcomed as the first President of the Republic of New Africa, he showed little heart for continuing his revolutionary activities and, after a brief tenure, stepped down in favor of Brother Imari, a former technical writer for the federal government. Stokely Carmichael can now come and go as he pleases and, evidently, is more pleased to be gone.

H. Rap Brown, who in *Die Nigger Die* wrote: "I only wish we would stop this petty stealing and take care of Chase Manhattan Bank, Fort Knox, or some armories," has been shot by a cop in New York after allegedly being caught robbing black crap shooters and patrons of the "Red Carpet," a black Manhattan bar.

Cleaver's appraisal of Robert Williams as heir-apparent to Malcolm X as national black revolutionary leader, as well as Cleaver's "dream" of a triumphal Williams' return home were flawed by the premise, expressed in the 1968 essay, that for revolutionary movements to proceed the people must rise to the leader's level of consciousness and "be ready for his style of leadership."

Not so. Rather, the leader must discover, elicit and voice the people's revolutionary consciousness; create people's uncreated consciousness of their own condition, needs and objectives.

Martin King, alone among all black leaders since Marcus Garvey, attained most precisely that kind of unity Hashin Akin Shegun [Republic of New Africa] equates with "predictability." King was able to draw out the people's uncreated consciousness; by eliciting in people a clearer recognition of their own needs and goals, he put them on the street *en masse*. But, while King's premises were noble — admitting the unreality of his goals — his execution faltered at Selma at the Pettus Bridge. There, King's non-violent army included prominent white supporters prepared to march with him. The White House was monitoring a situation in which, had King led his followers across the bridge, cracker troopers on horseback would trample indiscriminately both black people and rich, white do-gooders.

Rather than get on his knees and persuade his God to command him to cross the bridge, King got on the phone and allowed Bobby Kennedy and Nick Katzenbach to persuade him not to.

While King lived, he rendered on enough levels the unspoken aims of enough black people to bring, on relatively short notice, 15,000 followers on the streets of San Francisco. No other leader in the past four decades has matched this accomplishment.

by Walt Thompson

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But King, ironically destined to die violently anyway, blew his chance at Pettus Bridge to die with maximum political effect. In this sense, James Earl Ray not only eased the circumstances of King's death, but eked out vindication of his prior life and activity. And King at least was spared a far more bitter death when he escaped a deranged Harlem black woman's earlier attempt to take his life.

Inevitably, if you're black and have thought of death and dying, you grow more concerned about the political circumstances of the event than about the event itself. You know that, if there is anything less devoutly to be wished than being killed by crackers vamping on a black community aroused by discordant political principles, it is being killed by another desperate black man in a fratricidal squabble deriving from those principles. This, in black terms, is the difference between dying easily and dying hard.

In this respect, the last five years have seen too many hard deaths of too many black men and women — Malcolm X, Saundra Pratt, Huggins and Carter in L. A., Ronald Gene Black in Oakland, Alex Rackley in New Haven. How many others? In Odessa, Florida on January 1 the F. B. I. ushered in the New Year by announcing that one of its agents had shot and killed Panther Frank Fields outside of a motel. Fields, the Bureau said, had killed Oakland Panther Samuel Lee Napier at the Panther's Queens, New York headquarters in April of the year before.

Cases closed.

H. Rap Brown, who in *Die Nigger Die*, presents the most successful effort to mix Marxist cant with color, said it well: ". . . We treat revolution as if it is an historic process rather than an evolutionary movement. In other words, we all got a monopoly on Truth. Whites who consider themselves allies add to this by deciding which tribe is 'correct' and which is 'incorrect.' In other words, which best fits their needs. As a result of this kind of external control, tribes engage in fratricide (unknowingly in most cases) to gain the favor of the white ally." Even Eric Hoffer, whose long political senility is occasionally interlaced with brilliance, has made the point that, during the height of mid-'60s black revolutionary rhetoric, so-called black leaders were ranting at white TV cameras with their asses to the masses.

Black political observers as disparate as the leftist millionaire publisher Dr. Carlton Goodlet and militant Professors Harry Edwards and Nathan Hare agree that the Panther vanguard, equipped with strict white or foreign Marxist philosophy, strung themselves too far from their base, the black community, importing alien political cant to relate distant revolutions to the black American scene. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale have come to acknowledge this and are presently trying to correct it.

Last summer in a Chicago speech marking the second anniversary of the assassinations of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by Chicago police, Seale disavowed the use of guns except to defend community survival programs and climbed off the Maoist cant completely, calling for black unity across the board.

* * *

HISTORICALLY FEW LEFT FORAYS by prominent black people have caught fire and resulted in movements able to withstand official repression. The organized American Black Left movement began with the communist-sponsored International Labor Defense, included the National Negro and Civil Rights Congresses, and pursued an uneasy course through the Harlem Progressive Party to the Black Panthers. The Civil Rights Congress was quashed by McCarthy-era repression; the jailing of Bill Epton finished the Harlem movement.

And, if political labels in general are slippery or relative, they are now more so in the black American context. When the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was fighting for the black franchise in the South, it was already labeled "left wing." The Congress of Racial Equality, now Ford-funded and embracing an invisible Nixonian "Black Capitalism," was once considered leftist.

One problem is that both revolutionary leftists and what Bob Allen (author of *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*) calls "Liberal Corporate Capitalist Reformers" can view ghettoed black people as unliquidated internal colonies and white cops as occupying forces, and still come up with reformist "remedies" on the one hand and revolutionary "solutions" on the other.

For example, in the *Harvard Business Review*, University of California Professor Richard America Jr. writes: "The colonial analogy permits perception of the black community as a 'nation' systematically deprived of an opportunity to save and invest. It, therefore, can claim control of very little capital wealth . . . this deficiency must be corrected." Whereupon, taking Mr. Nixon very seriously, Dr. America calls on the federal government to act as Robin Hood in transferring a fair share of major U. S. corporations to black control.

But the most pressing challenge to black leftist ideas is on the more immediate issues that strike closest to home. For example, black leaders in Oakland, California last November rallied to support Police Chief Charles R. Gain when old-line white cops demanded the liberal chief's ouster. This was just two years after Eldridge Cleaver, charging Gain with the death of Bobby Hutton, labeled the chief "No. 1 Murderer."

Says Harry Edwards, "What am I? If the issue is Vietnam, I'm left or further. If it's cops in the black community, I'm conservative."

While Black Panthers have long demanded that occupying troops get out of Black Colonies, black people today in California's East Palo Alto are calling for more policing due to an increasing incidence of black-against-black crime. Whether you call East Palo Alto a black ghetto or a black colony, people there are buying German shepherds and Doberman pinschers for protection, putting personal IDs on household goods that are regularly being ripped off, and generally calling for Law and Order.

Even for those with a total political agenda, the first order of business must be the practical needs of the black community. The timetable for liberation is long, but every day there are deadlines for survival.

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Records: Chuck Berry

THE LONDON CHUCK BERRY SESSIONS [*Chess*]
CHUCK BERRY'S GOLDEN DECADE [*Chess*]

TOOLING ALONG AN INDIANA highway in a flashy two-tone Chevrolet Bel-Air, radio tuned to some local radio outlet, listening to the usual run of popular music, and suddenly there's an unfamiliar voice, a hot, rattling guitar, and a rousing lyric delivered in rapid-fire, high-energy manner. That was the better part of twenty years ago, America was in the heart of those wonderful Eisenhower years, and rock and roll was just getting rocking and rolling.

A few white musicians had made it with the kids of the country—Bill Haley and the Comets and Elvis Presley were in their first popularity—but the black musicians of the period were still mostly restricted to black-oriented radio stations and a black club circuit. Those who did make it into the big white marketplace did so by sounding white—Nat King Cole was the chief example.

And then came Little Richard, Fats Domino, and Chuck Berry — all of them veterans of the R&B circuit but a startling sound to white America, whose main musical experience was provided by Perry Como, Eddie Fisher, Rosemary Clooney, the McGuire Sisters and the Chordettes.

The energy and topicality of R&B was able to wipe the popular sludge right off the airwaves, but the problem in its acceptance was clearly racial. Any number of commentators have suggested that Elvis's success grew from the fact that he was white but sounded black.

In any case we learned somewhere along the line that, as long as we were going to listen to black-oriented music, we might at least offer its creators the courtesy of listening to it from them, at least part of the time, and along came a generation of black rock and roll artists, along with a growing acceptance of purer blues from the likes of Howlin' Wolf, Muddy Waters and John Lee Hooker among many others.

Probably the most important black rock-and-roller—and possibly the most important rock-and-roller of all, if you count *influence* as well as personal credits—was Chuck Berry. Lillan Roxon thinks that, if he had been white, Berry might have been as big as Presley. I am inclined to agree and to add *—and far more deserving.*

Berry was a major force in the development of rock guitar out of the earlier blues style, in the development of rock lyrics and in the general leaping, raving style of rock performance. His distinctive guitar openings herald dozens of rock songs. His topics alternate between the hot earthiness of traditional blues lyrics and the schoolyard orientation of much early rock. But where most schoolyard rock was (and still is) vapid and sloppy, Berry's has always been sharply pointed, wry, self-aware.

As for his influence on more modern rockers, one need only compare a list of Beatles and Rolling Stones

by Dick Lupoff

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songs with Berry's output and see where the English groups got their early songs—and the basis of many of their late ones.

Not only did the Beatles record Berry's record "Roll Over Beethoven" and "Rock and Roll Music," but Berry pops up, sometimes unexpectedly, in the music of many rockers.

Item: "Sweet Little Sixteen" turns up in Cat Mother's "Good Old Rock and Roll" *and* in the Beach Boys' "Surfin' USA."

Item: Part of the lyric of Berry's "You Can't Catch Me" appears in the Beatles' "Come Together."

Item: "Thirty Days" (for some reason revised to "Forty Days") turns up in the repertoire of Ronnie Hawkins, the original leader of a band called the Hawks that in turn worked for Bob Dylan and finally emerged as The Band.

Berry is still working, cutting records for Chess and touring periodically; his latest effort, *The London Chuck Berry Sessions,* is a combination of the two—an LP side recorded in London studios, another recorded live at the Lanchester Arts Festival. He's still in good form, especially when there's a live audience to work with.

The studio cuts include three rockers and a fine blues tune, "Mean Old World," by the late Little Walter. The rockers are by Berry himself, and he lays out as neat a lyric as ever — "I wouldn't walk a block but I'd dance a mile."

The live tracks are better than the studio side, especially Berry's old "Reelin' and Rockin'," and in a rap introducing "My-Ding-A-Ling" he expresses a major element in his music.

"There's nothing wrong with sex, not a thing wrong with sex, sex is a beautiful and honorable thing. . .this is a free country, live like you want to live, baby."

That might well be the spirit of rock and roll, the spirit of the flower generation, the spirit of the counter-culture, the spirit of Chuck Berry. As an ideal it may be admirable; as a matter of practicality, the experiences of the past few years have shown it to be incomplete at best, if not outright unviable.

Chuck Berry's Golden Decade is a re-issue of a 1967 double album, itself a compilation of material dating back to 1955. As the *London Sessions* show us where Berry is today, *Golden Decade* shows us where not only Berry but rock and roll came from. Twenty-four tracks in all, including a dazzling series of hit songs and a few familiar tracks—they must have been "B" sides of singles, originally—that are nonetheless rewarding.

The more I listen to the output of past and present artists, the more I compare styles, lyrics, performances, the more I am inclined to think that Chuck Berry was, indeed, the most important single force in the development of this music—and hence, in an indirect manner, of much of the contemporary radical counter-culture.

Oh, and that song coming out of the Chevrolet car radio so long ago—just for the record, it was "Maybelline." Named for the eye-cosmetic, in Berry's consciousness at the time because he was contemplating a career as a beautician. What a parallel reality *that* would have been! ■

RECENT AND NOTEWORTHY:

GERONIMO BLACK [*Uni*] Former Mother of Invention Jimmy Carl Black plus a crew of refugees from Dr. John, Love and other groups form not so much a super-group as a solid new band doing a variety of music that ranges from raunch-rock to protest. There's still a way to go for the band, but their debut album has enough fine moments to warrant a good listen, and an expectation of better to follow.

WHO WOULD GIVE HIS ONLY SONG AWAY, Adam Miller [*Chelsea*] Adam Miller is Chelsea's entry in the sincere - young - man sweepstakes, and he does a fine job of it. He writes lyrics of love and loneliness, sings them in a sweet, pure voice that sounds like 60% James Taylor, 30% Elton John, 10% you-name-it (maybe Adam Miller), against a superbly polished if somewhat over-lush crew of session men. A super-slick commercial product, but is it art?

DUANE AND GREG ALLMAN [*Bold*] Before there was an Allman Brothers Band, Greg and Duane were session men working out of an obscure studio in Florida, and laying down tracks of their own when business was dull. Little Bold Records has dug out nine of those tracks and released a pleasant, fascinating album; if you're not into the Allman Brothers' music, don't start here, get one of their later Capricorn albums. But if you've got those already, the Bold album will provide invaluable early material for your collection.

FOGHAT [*Bearsville*] Three refugees from Savoy Brown plus Rod Price from the talented but little-known Black Cat Bones make an excellent (if unsurprising) new group. Best cuts on their debut album are by Willy Dixon ("I Just Want To Make Love To You") and Chuck Berry ("Maybelline").

FRITZ THE CAT [*Fantasy*] Sound track albums being what they are, and the film *Fritz the Cat* being what it is, this record delivers a lot more than it promises. Tasty jazz and blues, some historic (Bo Diddley, Billie Holiday) some new (Merl Saunders, Alice Stuart), most of it worth listening to on its own merits rather than for its association with the controversial movie.

THE AGE OF STEAM, Gerry Mulligan [*A&M*] Big band jazz is a risky kind of music—there is a substantial danger of losing all of the freshness and freedom of the small combo and floundering into an area unpleasantly like commercial big-band pop. Slick but sterile. Mulligan avoids this; his new album has an amazing feel of freedom and lightness to it, with masterful performances by Tom Scott and Bud Shank as well as Mulligan himself.

AMERICAN GOTHIC, David Ackles, [*Elektra*] Ackles is a playwright as well as a musician; his albums (this is his third) logically reflect the mixed blessing of theatricality. Vivid, lyrical —but at times maudlin and self-indulgent. *American Gothic* is his best to to date.

THE SIDEWINDERS [*RCA*] Five young musicians make up a pretty together rock and roll band, performing original music, and tossed into the marketplace by RCA to sink or swim as they may. In all likelihood they'll sink, despite considerable talent and

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a fine, crisp production job credited to Lenny Kaye. Why do the recording companies issue so many albums, then offer them no support? That's a mystery; it's also a tragedy.

THE LONDON MUDDY WATERS SESSIONS [*Chess*] Accompanying the current Chuck Berry *London Sessions* and last year's superb Howlin' Wolf album, one by my personal choice as the world's greatest blues man. Waters never falters, the studio men are outstanding, the material is largely his own and Willy Dixon's—a fine album was inevitable, and this one lives up to its promise 100%.

CARL AND THE PASSIONS—SO TOUGH/PET SOUNDS, The Beach Boys [*Brother*] An interesting notion—*Pet Sounds*, the Beach Boys' first "serious" album, re-issued in a set with *So Tough*, their newest release. To be honest, I've always enjoyed the Beach Boys as pleasant "singles" musicians but have never gotten into their albums and have been mystified at the critics, like Paul Williams, who have gone into rhapsodies at the genius of Brian Wilson. This latest release leaves my opinion intact. ■

STONES *(From Page 15)*

Calculatedly crude and debased, the Stones represent the utter negation of accepted standards. Their attraction for audiences so far transcends "mere" entertainment that it is tempting to suggest that they are not entertainers at all. Their importance is symbolic. They don't exist on a literal level.

THE BEATLES AND THE STONES represented a choice between the bright and the sinister aspects of their bygone era. The Beatles sang an innocent song called "I Want to Hold Your Hand." The Stones said, "Let's Spend the Night Together." (For Ed Sullivan's dollars they were not beneath rendering it as "Let's Spend Some Time Together." Everyone knew what the proper lyrics were.) The Stones sang of "Mother's Little Helper," "Sister Morphine," "You Can't Always Get What You Want," and "Sympathy for the Devil." The Boston Strangler cropped up as "Midnight Rambler."

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Somewhere people must argue over whether art imitates life or life imitates art. Of course, it works both ways. Artists reflect and represent what they see but they also lead and inspire. After the Beatles ceased to exist as a coherent organization — whatever their attainments as individuals—the Stones continued and still do. Both groups are the archetypes and the essence of our times.

But "our times," in the red hot, up-to-the-minute world of instant pop music, are just about over. The new adolescents listen to the twang of different guitarists. Beneath the garish makeup on Mick Jagger's face, the lines of his skin were clearly visible.

The Rolling Stones may go on a while longer entertaining us old folks in our late twenties and thirties, but I fear not very much longer. They may even come to America again, and if they do I'll probably drag my aging bones through the whole far-fetched struggle of getting to see them again.

But somehow I don't really expect it to happen at all.

Somehow this 1972 tour has a distinctive feel of goodbye to it.

ROBERT SHERRILL *(From Page 8)*

Hence he has only been admitted to the White House when the President himself is absent—for example, at a recent all-woman social event which featured champagne with strawberries floating in it. Says Sherrill, "I'm suing for the credential just to have fun. Obviously it is worthless. The last place you're going to find any news is at an official White House conference."

—Compiled by Jim Ridgeway and Bo Burlingham with the assistance of Zodiac News Service

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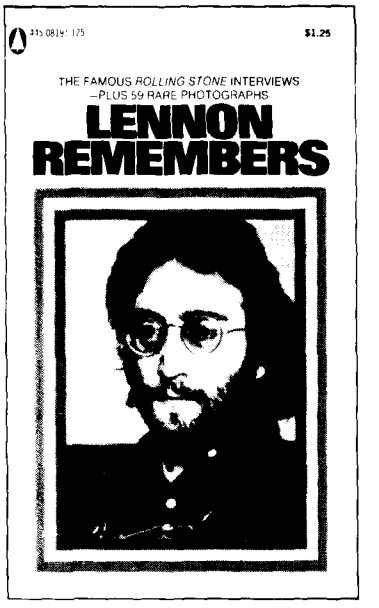

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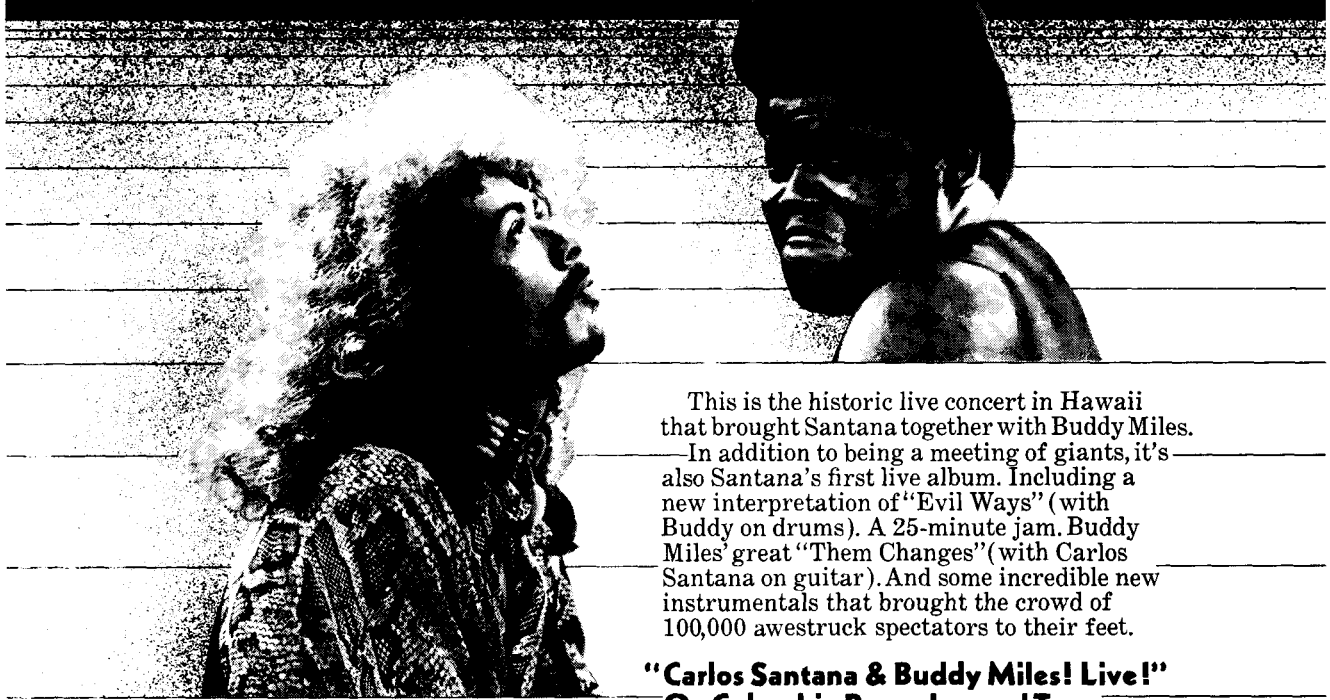

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